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THE PROBLEM OF A COMMON INDIAN LANGUAGE.

By Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra, M. A., B. L.
(SOMETIME JUDGE OF THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT.)

A uniform script and a common language for the Indian people are dreams, but not unfrequently dreams are realised. They are possibilities, not mere chimeras. The adoption of a common language for literary and scientific purposes in the different provinces of the vast Peninsula south of the snow-clapped range including Ceylon, in place of the Bengali, the Hindi, the Mahratti, the Guzrati, the Sindi, the Telugu, the Tamil, the Malayalam, the Canarese and the numerous other dialects, which have literatures of their own, is undoubtedly an enchanting idea. In archaic India, the Sanskrit with its Vedas, purans, and philosophies, its sublime epics and beautiful dramas, was the common language of the literate and the cultured : the English language is striving to take the place which Sanskrit had occupied centuries ago, but modern India cannot either go back to Sanskrit or adopt a language unsuited to its spirit and genius. The English may be the language of a few for certain limited purposes, but a common language for the people is a necessity. Such a language would have a glorious future and would shine far more brilliantly than any of the languages of enlightened Europe. With the sweet and flexible Sanskrit as its base, a common Indian language capable of easy comprehension, easy utterance and easy composition by the millions of India cannot but have a literature soaring far above the literature of all the

other languages of the world. It is a pity we are divided; we have still the narrowness of the love of our individual and provincial dialects!

The dialects of the different provinces of India, at least of Northern and Western India, do not materially differ from one another. Adopt a common script and a bare glance at them will show that they are essentially the same, although they have semblances of difference. Their differences are not greater than those between English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh, or the Ionian and Dorian of Ancient Greek. Dialects differ according to distances of the places where they are used and the differences of the classes of people using them. The same people may use colloquially different dialects—the North, South, East and West of a country having each its own peculiarities, and the educated and uneducated in each having their distinctive dialectic features. The distance of a few miles is sufficient to cause differences; the higher classes have literary or refined speeches, the lower classes have their slangs, or colloquial languages. But

> Wee, sleekit 'cow in', tim'rous beastie,
> O, what a panic's in thy breastie

of Burns, or the language of Lady A. Lindsay.

> I gang like a ghaist, and I carena to spin;
> I daurna think on Jamie, for that wad be a sin;
> But I'll do my best a gude wife ay to be!
> For auld Robin Gray he is kind unto me.

is in one sense as much English as that of Wordsworth and Tennyson. The differences between the different dialects of Northern and Western India are not greater than those of Scotland and England. Even a cursory examination of the Aryan dialects prevalent in Northern or Western India will show at once the points of resemblance and difference, and I am confident that educated Indians will not feel the slightest difficulty in understanding each other's dialects.

Let us first take up a passage from the Guzerati which is the farthest province in the West. On the eve of the arrival of Their Royal Highnesses the then Prince and Princess of Wales, our present King and Queen, a Guzerati poet sang:—

> आवो आवो भारत राज ओवाने ,
> दइ दर्शन सुख अनु जन्म जन्मनो खोवाने ।
> जेम चन्द्रोदय जोइ चकोर जिव राजेरे ,
> जेम नवघन आवतां नाचे मोर वन मांचेरे ।

तेम भारतवासी जनो तवागमन चाहे जी ,
लखि मुख शशी राजकुमार मुदित मन माहें जी ॥

* In Hindi the passage would be :—

आओ आओ भारतराज जवान ! (राज जवान=जवानराज=युवराज) दरशन सुख दइ जन्म जन्म को जनु खोवाने । जिमि चंद्रोदय जोहि (=लखि जैसे चाट जोहना) चकोर जिय राजै, जिमि नवघन आवत लखि मोर मन भावै, तिमि भारतवासी जन तव आगमन चाहै जी (अरु) राज कुमार मुख शशि जी लखि मुदित मन माहीं जी ॥

The words आओ. आओ (come, come) will be understood throughout Northern India; notwithstanding that the words are not pure Bengali. The same words are used in Hindi. The word जोवाने is Bengali जोवान and comes from the Sanskrit word युवन्. The word दइ in the next line is "giving", Bengali दिया. The word खोवाने is the same as the Bengali खोवान (losing), in Hindi the same word is used. जेम in the third line is Bengali जेमन, Hindi जिमि. जिय in Bengali is हिया (heart). राजे is becoming glad and has a Sanskrit origin. आवृतं in the fourth line is Bengali अवतीर्ण (appearance) and the word अवतीर्ण will be understood throughout India, being a common Sanskrit word. लखि (seeing) is a word of common use from root लक्ष. मोर is a contraction of मयूर. In the fifth line तेम is used in opposition to जेम in the same way as in Bengali तेमनis used in opposition to जेमन - मनमाहें in the sixth line means "in (their) mind." The inflexion is different and the word is hybrid. The other words in the quotation are purely Sanskritic and will be understood throughout India. Thus we see that the language of Guzerat is not so different from those of Northern India that any educated Indian would feel difficulty in mastering the same. In a very short time a Bengali or a Hindustani would easily be able to understand Guzerati, and if the difficulty of reading be removed by the use of a common script, Guzerati will be less dissimilar to Bengali, Hindi, or Panjabi than English to Scotch or Irish.

Let us now examine a passage in Marhatti poetry. To the people of Northern India, the Marhatti would appear to be more difficult from an inflexional point of view than Guzerati. But the use of a large number of Sanskritic words would render the vocabulary almost the same. The inflexions are similar to what we find in Bengali and Hindi; and the differences may be easily mastered.

चमत्कृति निधानाही कांति तुझी जगन्नापते ।
तुझे च जगदाख्य जें आणिक चित्त आकर्षते ॥

सुरम्य इतुकी जरी कृति तुम्ह॰ तरीतु किती।
सुरम्य अससी प्रभो खुंटतसे मतिची गती॥

I shall give the translation of this passage both in Hindi and Bengali prose. My readers will see at once that the Marhatti is not far remote in vocabulary, spirit and idiom from these dialects of Northern India. Most of the words are Sanskritic, the large use of ची is a peculiarity of inflexion. In Hindi it would be thus:—

हे जगत्पते! यह ब्रह्मागडरूपी तुम्हारी कारीगरी अत्यन्त आश्चर्य्य-दायिनी है, जो अखिल प्राणि मात्र के चित्त को आकर्षित करती है। हे प्रभो! जब तुम्हारी कीर्ति ऐसी रमणीय है तब तुम कितने रमणीय होगे, इस विचार में मति की गति कुण्ठित हो जाती है॥

Rendered in Bengali it would read thus:—

हे जगत्पते! तोमार ब्रह्मागडरूप कार्य्य अत्यन्त आश्चर्य्येर विषय! सेइ ब्रह्मागड अखिल चित्त आकर्षण करे। हे प्रभो! यदि तोमार कार्य्य एत सुरम्य, तवे तुमि कत सुरम्य, इहा स्थिर करिते मानसिक प्रवृत्ति कुण्ठित हय।

For readers who do not understand either Hindi or Bengali or who have no facility in reading the Devanagari script, I add an English translation which is rather free, because the spirit of the Englihs language and its idioms are entirely different from those of any of the Indian dialects:—

O father of the universe, thy work as manifested by thy creation is wonderful indeed! It attracts the mind of all living beings! O Lord, if thy work is so beautiful, human mind must shrink from every attempt to conceive how beautiful thyself must be!

Let us now take a well-known and beautiful passage from the Panjabi. It is a stanza from a song of Guru Nanak:—

गगन मय थाल रविचन्द्र दीपक बने।
तारका मगडल जनक मोति॥
धूप मलयानिल पवन चौरि करे।
सकल बन राइ फुलन्त ज्योति॥

This passage has been translated into Bengali poetry by a well-known Bengali novelist and poet. Only the other day I read the translation in "कुमारी" by Babu Abinash Chandra Das M. A.

गगनेर थाले रविचन्द्र दीपक ज्वले।
तारका मगडल चमके मोतिरे॥
धूप मलयानिल पवन चामर करे।
सकल बनराजि फुलन्त ज्योतिरे॥

I do not think the stanza requires a translation either in Hindi or in Marhatti or in Guzerati, either as the language of the poet is such that any one familiar with any of the Sanskritic languages can fail to appreciate its meaning and beauty. The poet compares the canopy overhead to a large plate which is used in India for the purpose of "*Arati*" in the worship of gods. The sun and the moon shine on it as the light in the plate, the stars are pearls, the scented zephyrs take the place of incense, the wind acts as *chamar* and the trees and flowers act as effulgence.

It is very easy to add instances from other Indian dialects to show the great similarity they have to each other, but I think I should add an example from the Uriya which is the nearest province to the Telugu-speaking Ganjam in Madras Presidency on the South and Bengal on the North and North-West. The poet Rai Radhanath Rai Bahadur was an Inspector of schools in Orissa and although his family had originally migrated from Bengal, by continuous intermingling for centuries with the Uriyas, he had become in every respect an Uriya. I take the passage from his description of the *Chilka Lake* :—

बहु दिन भ्रमिभ्रामि भविरते, देखि लई नाना स्थान भू भार ते ।
कि उत्तराखण्ड कि दक्षिण पथ, भ्रामिलि मुं भाग्यवशे चक्रवत् ॥
भारतर रत्न सीमान्त भचल, देखिलि हिमाद्रि हि उर्जस्वल ।
पादे कोटि कोटि शिखरि समाज, सर्व्वोर्ध्वे शोभान्ति शुभ्र शैल राज ॥
शृङ्गों परि शृङ्ग शृङ्ग तदुपरि, नील व्योम पटे चित्र हेला परि ।
नीहार मुकुटे मस्तक मण्डित, स्कन्धे शोभे शुभ्र गङ्गा उपवीत ॥
निस्तब्धनीर से महा विजने, सनातन श्वेत तुषार भासने ॥
व्योमकेश मूर्त्ति देखिलि चमकि, पड़िला मेरूपे चित्त वृत्ति थकि ।
मने मने कहि नमिलि नीरवे, 'नमो देवात्मने श्री गौरी गुरवे' ॥

In Hindi prose it would be thus .—

"बहुत दिनों तक भविरंत भ्रमण कर भारत भूमि में मैंने नाना स्थान देखे-क्या उत्तराखण्ड, क्या दक्षिणाखण्ड (दक्षिण पथ) भाग्यवश मैंने चक्रवत् भ्रमण किया । भारत रत्न का भचल (भौर) भति उज्वल हिम से भच्छादित (ढकी हुई) सीमा (भी) मैंने देखी । उस के नीचे करोड़ों शिखर का समाज हैं, भौर सब से ऊंचे पर शुभ्र शैल राज शोभायमान हैं; शृंग पर शृंग भौर उस पर भी शृंग; उसके नील व्योम पट पर चित्त मस्त हो जाता है ! भोस के मुकुट से मस्तक मण्डित है स्कन्ध पर शुभ्र गङ्गा उपवीत के (जनेऊ) समान सुशोभित हैं—उस महा विजन (वन) में निस्तब्धनीर सनातन श्वेत तुषार के भासन पर (विराजमान) व्योमकेश मूर्त्ति (को) देख-

कर ही मनुष्य चमकित (चकित) हो जाता है; और उस रूप से चित्त वृत्ति चकित हो पड़ता है!—मन ही मन निःशब्द मैंने यह कहकर नमस्कार किया कि हे देवात्मन् श्री गौरी गुरु (तुम्हें) नमस्कार है!

Every Indian who knows a little of Sanskrit would easily understand the above passage describing the Himalayan range. चाकत in the first line will be चकित in Bengali, देखिलहुं in the second line is देखिलाम in Bengali, आमिलि हुं in the fourth line is आमि अमिलाम. शोभन्ति in the eighth line is शोभा पाइतछेन, हेल in the tenth line is हइल and पारि is नत थाकि in the sixteenth line is थाकिया, श्रान्त हइया. नामाल in the next line is नमिलाम in Bengali. The other words are to all intents and purposes pure Sanskritic and will be easily understood throughout India.

I shall add another passage from Uriya from the poet Fakir Mohan Senapati's writings :—

नहेला हृदये मोर पुण्यर सञ्चार, दग्ध हेत अच्छि पापानळे बारंबार।
शीतल करन्तु प्रभु करुणा जळरे, जय जय देव जय जगदीश हरे॥

The following is a translation into Bengali :—

आमार हृदये पुण्येर सञ्चार हइलना; आमि पापानले बारंबार दग्ध हइतेछि। करुणाजले आमार हृदय शीतल करुन; जय जय देव, जय जगदीश हरे।

and the following is in Hindi :—

मेरे हृदय में पुण्य का सञ्चार नहीं हुआ; हम पापानल में बारंबार दग्ध हो रहे हैं। करुणाजल से मेरा हृदय शीतल कीजिये। जय जय देव जय जगदीश हरे"॥

As Hindi is understood in the greater part of India and is likely to be the common Indian language with slight modifications, as the inevitable consequence of mixture of nationalities and dialects, I do not think it will serve any useful purpose to quote any passage from any of the great Hindi authors and point out similarities and dissimilarities.

I shall now examine a passage from the pen of, if not the best, one of the best of our living Bengali authors. I am quoting from Rabindra Nath's latest work. He is the least Sanskritic in his style, and uses words of ordinary parlance as far as possible. For the purposes of a common language, the plentiful use of Sanskritic words is very necessary, but Burns and others with their Scottish words and idioms are as much British poets as any of the English poets. Colloquial language not unfrequently appeals to the

heart and is generally the language of a true poet. We like Rabindra Nath, notwithstanding his deviations from the classical style of most of the other writers in Bengali. His defects, if any, hide themselves in the lustre of his thoughts and fancies. His style and provincialism may be distasteful to many, but his Bengali is undoubtedly genuine.

He writes :—

—आज परेश बाबू सेइ ताहांर सन्ध्यार निभृत ध्यानेर शान्ति सम्भोग परित्याग करियायखन चिन्तित मुखे सुचरितार घरे आसिया दांड़ाइखेन, तखन ये शिशुर खेला करा उचित छिल सेइ पीड़ित शिशु चुप करिया पड़िया थाकिबे, मार मने येमन व्यथा बाजे सुचरितार स्नेह पूर्ण चित्त तेमनि व्यथित हइया उठिल ॥

The Hindi translation of the passage would be as follows .—

—आज परेश बाबू अपने उस सन्ध्या के निभृत ध्यान का शान्ति सम्भोग परित्याग कर जब चिन्तित मुख सुचरिता के घर आ खड़े हुए तब जैसे एक शिशु को, जिसे खेलना कूदना उचित था पीड़ित होने से चुप चाप पड़ा हुआ देखकर उस की मां के मन में व्यथा होती है सुचरिता का स्नेहमय (स्नेह पूर्ण) चित्त भी उसी प्रकार व्यथित हो उठा ॥

An examination of the passages both in Bengali and Hirdi would show that with the exception of a few, the words are the same and all are Sanskritic. The difference lies only in small words and inflexions. The pronominal forms are, of course, slightly different. But very little effort would enable any Indian, familiar with any of the Indian dialects, to become familiar with these peculiarities The pronouns and the inflexional forms have mostly their roots in the original Aryan forms, slight differences being inevitable on account of distances.

A few months ago I happened to be in the districts of Saran and Bhagalpore, both of which are supposed to contain a very large proportion of Hindi-speaking people, but their dialects as they talked amongst themselves were different from the ordinary Hindi and I felt considerable difficulty in understanding their conversation in spite of the fact that I have a fair knowledge of the Hindi language as it is generally written. The letters written by some gentlemen of the locality in their own dialects were read to me and I felt as much difficulty in understanding them as I felt when I first read Assamese, Panjabi or Guzerati.

The lower classes of people generally speak a language which varies materially from the language of the higher classes. In fact each particular tribe or clan has its own peculiarity of dialect. As in the ancient days there was the difference between *Sanskrit* and *Prakrit*, there is to-day the difference between the languages of the literate and the illiterate classes. That is so, I believe, in every country. But that would certainly be no reason why these should be different dialects for different classes of people or for different localities in the same province. It would be absurd to think of keeping up the different languages or dialects, just for the reason that in common parlance people have dialectic variations according to the class or locality they happen to belong to or inhabit. If the majority of the words are the same or similar, if the idioms and peculiarities of style are essentially common, if the differences in mere words and inflexions are small or nominal, the interest of literature requires, the unification of the nation demands that the literary language should become one and the same. If, as I have shown, a comparison of the different dialects of Northern, eastern and western India, leads to the unmistakeable conclusion that they are in essence the same, that it requires no serious loss of time for one to learn all the dialects, if in reality the means of inter-communication between the different peoples is easy, I do not see why an effort should not be made for a common language. Inter-communication in any one or more of the Indian dialects would open the path to a common language. The use of the English by the English-knowing Indians as a means of inter-communication is a bar to nature and the sooner that bar is removed the better for the Indian people.

THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN SCIENCE ON INDIAN THOUGHT.—II.

By Mr. Kanwar Sain, Bar-at-Law.

IN spite of the fact that Practical Astronomy is not usually taught in schools and colleges in India, this heavenly science has had a peculiar fascination for the Indians. We were by no means strangers to this science before our contact with the West—as I have already pointed out in the first section of this paper. Every village Pandit could read a Sanskrit Almanac, could forecast eclipses by a simple calculation and could cast a horoscope—thanks to the popular belief in astrology, not yet quite extinct. Most of the Hindus had to ascertain the relative positions of the planets and the sun with reference to the Zodiacs, for the sake of their almost daily religious observances. Modern astronomy has re-opened to view in another light the infinitude of space in the bosom of which (in the words of Shelley) :—

> Worlds on worlds are rolling over,
> From creation to decay,
> Like bubbles in a river,
> Sparkling, bursting, borne away.

It has taught us for example that the distance of the nearest star in the constellation Sirius is such as it would take years for light to traverse it at the rate of 186,000 miles per second.

The Nebular Hypothesis informs us how the suns and solar systems have formed out of chaos. The Tele-spectroscope reveals to us the constitution, weight, density and velocity of many a heavenly body far beyond the reach of the naked eye. Modern astronomy like physics has been relegated into Higher Mathematics, which plays an important rôle in every branch of Science Mathematics has indeed become a constant factor of Science. And no small part is played by Algebra, Trigonometry and Calculus in working out, testing, correcting and suggesting processes, results, theories and laws of Science. A remarkable example may be mentioned. By sheer mathematical calculation and manipulation of figures Le Verrier in France, and Adams in England—independently of each other—were able to predict the existence of a planet unknown before, and discovered afterwards and named Neptune.

However, all that is grand and noble and poetical in Astronomy had been in a way anticipated in the *Surya Siddhanta* and *Siddhanta Siromani.* And beyond attaining to mathematical accuracy and instrumental range and precision—(objects, which in themselves no doubt are extremely important) we have derived little inspiration from Western astronomy.

GEOLOGY.

When, however, we come down from the skies and look on and into the earth through the western spectacles, we indeed find much that is both new and striking. Geology is, unlike chemistry, a science of recent birth and growth. The age and formation of various strata, the appearance and disappearance of certain fauna and flora in order of succession of these strata, the position of man in the scale of fauna, and above all, the vast extent of Time that envelopes these phenomena are ideas revealed for the first time by Geology. A glimpse of the old world creation of gigantic vegetation peopled with huge animals--the Pleosaurus Ichthyosaurus and the like—the wild Mammoth roaming in the wilds of Russia—presents a picture of "Nature red in tooth and claw. It would be difficult indeed to find in the old literature parallels of the doctrines inculcated by this science—doctrines which have given a more or less violent shock to our old and settled views. The recognition for example of the primitive state of man artless, houseless—possibly even speechless, knocks on the head our cherished theories of a golden age in the dawn of creation." It was quite natural, therefore, that the broad conclusions of this science were received at first with a certain degree of reserve if not suspicion. Nevertheless no storm was raised against the lessons of this science in India as was done in Europe And strange as it may seem, some old texts were unearthed in order to square the new conceptions of geological ages with cycles of old.

BIOLOGY.

Passing on to the higher branches of science we find that biology too has presented to us a considerable body of knowledge of a new order. What is life and what are its characteristics, conditions and transformations? Is there or is there not any hard and fast line of demarcation between the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms? How are they mutually related? and what are the laws of their origin, growth, decay and death? In endeavouring to answer these questions biology taps all the possible sources of information and lays under contribution most of the instruments furnished by other sciences, and leads us on at last to the somewhat difficult problems of Biogenesis or Abiogenesis—origin and variation of species, Natural selection—struggle for existence—Laws of Reproduction, Heredity and Evolution. In spite of its wonderful discoveries and generalizations, during the last half century, Biology does not yet claim to have attained to that degree of exactitude in its conclusions, as its parent sciences—Physics, chemistry and geology—have done. And for obvious reasons. Here the subject is living matter, which is too complex in its character to be easily brought under observation and experiment within the limited time, space and other conditions of a [illegible]tory and defies the application of mathematics. No wonder,

therefore, that doctors disagree here on vital questions. Although Doctor Bastian has more than suggested, and Professer Hackel has boldly asserted, the possibility of life originating from non-living matter—and Burke imagined he had proved it experimentally—the theory of Abiogenesis has not yet received the assent of the Biologists in general. Indeed, the weight of expert opinion still leans in favour of Biogencsis, *i. e.*, life from life. As, however, it has been proved that there is an unbroken continuity from the mineral through the vegetable to the animal kingdoms —that they merge and shade off one into the next higher by almost imperceptible degrees—the theory of Abiogenesis must have appealed as more reasonable to the logical Indian mind. But the pre-dispositions were certainly against the entertainment of such a view. The orthodox believers in the existence of soul find it difficult, if not impossible, to accept this theory which is apparently irreconcilable with their faith. Scientific world lay long on the two horns of a dilemma. The mystery seemed to baffle the analysis of western biologists. It was reserved for an Indian man of science to achieve the honour of taking the first step towards removing the difficulty of unravelling the mystery. In his luminous series of experiments on the Responses in Plants and Minerals, Doctor J. C. Bose has endeavoured to demonstrate that there is indeed no absolute difference in kind between the living and the so-called non-living matter : that, looked at from the scientific point of view, all substances, however inert, are alive : nay more—for aught we can say to the contrary—matter, energy, life principle, are all manifestations of one and the same Entity.

Botany and Zoology studied in the light of Polentology and comparative anatomy have made it possible to look upon all the species of plant and animals as members or branches of a common geneological tree of life—the varieties in types being explicable on the hypothesis of difference in the environments. Now this view again, while it lends further support to the monistic belief, has given a severe shock to the prevailing notions based on the Hindu and Mahomedan mythologies alike. Whereas in Europe the storm of hostile criticism against Darwin's and Huxley's views has subsided, in India subdued doubts are, I think, still entertained as to the correctness of the above generalization. From the pulpits one often hears protests against the acceptance of a creed supposed to dispense with the necessity of a Providence.

Of all the principles derived from science few have perhaps been so grossly misunderstood and misapplied in our social and moral relations as the so-called Laws of the Struggle for existence and survival of the fittest—which, Biology informs us, are observable in the vegetable and animal kingdoms alike. It is argued that because these are Laws of Nature, therefore, we should obey them by killing out the weak and by attaining to power no matter how. No notion could be more mistaken.

The Biologists have only stated a fact they have observed in the lower animal creation; they have never justified its adoption by human beings, who are governed by the higher laws of mercy—sympathy, charity, love and self-sacrifice.

But the greatest contribution to pure science made by Biology, is the declaration of the principle of Evolution, with which are associated the immortal names of Darwin, Huxley and Herbert Spencer. This doctrine although drawn from, and based on, science has such a wide range that it extends into, and takes in its sweep even the domain of metaphysics and mental philosophy. On one side of the scale of existence, even the tiniest particle of matter imaginable—the "Electron" vibrates and collides with others of its kind, and thus is transformed into various "elements" by the process of evolution. On the other end, the vast nebulæ of interstellar space are spinning with almost incomprehensible velocities and are throwing into existence gigantic stars, double stars and suns with planetary systems of their own—all again by exactly the same process known as evolution. Societies grow according to evolution. There is evolution in language, in arts, in Government, in religion. In short, evolution governs every phase of existence and thought. In the light of this doctrine the universe is no longer looked upon as having been created in its perfection by a fiat. On the contrary there is visible a slow and steady process of constant variation, gradual adaptation and consequent natural selection—all occurring in obedience to certain Laws—some known, others unknown—tending in the long run to what may be termed absolute Perfection or some "far off Divine event" of which, however, we can scarcely form any definite conception.

Grand and novel as this doctrine appears to be, at first sight, it may, however, be safely affirmed that the idea is as old as our own Gautam Buddha, who seems to have not only realized this principle in all its aspects, but also preached the moral application of it throughout the length and breadth of India. The Budhistic Philosophy of Karma and Reincarnation, as developed from his teachings—and as distinguished from the old Hindu docrtine of the Transmigration of the soul—is a close parallel in many directions to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer. The more one compares them, the more one finds that the latter is as it were a resuscitation of the former.

Biological sciences even more than Physical sciences have helped in the prevalence of a materialistic view of nature in Europe and India alike. The command that medicinal and surgical appliances give on the ebbs and flows of life—on checking disease and arresting decay, brings the man of science dangerously near the brink of atheism. And few are the instances among eminent doctors who, like Newton, have the modesty to acknowledge that they are picking up but pebbles on the shore while

the great ocean of knowledge lies beyond. Hackel's bold but materialistic suggestion of a possible solution of the Riddle of the Univese impresses the imagination as magnificent, and appeals to reason as plausible; and but for the trenchant criticism by Sir Oliver Lodge in his *Life and Matter*, would carry conviction. On the whole, it is to be feared, the effect of the studies of Physical and Biological sciences in the lecture halls, dissecting rooms, and laboratories of medical colleges is distinctly materialistic.

Method in Science.

However, if one uniform method of all the western sciences referred to above, be sought for, it will be found in the Inductive method. And credit is due to modern savants in that they have perfected this method and applied it most successfully to the study of Natural phenomena. They first accumulate facts and instances in as large a number as possible; then classify them, and draw all the possible tentative inferences; then by a process of elimination and selection they work out a hypothesis, which after being tested deductively may lead to the formulation of what is called a general theory and a Law. It follows, therefore, that the more numerous the instances the more correct is the result likely to be. As, however, from the finite nature of man and his opportunities, it is practically impossible for him to gather infinite instances, the Inductive method labours under an inherent defect of a possible error. And even the most careful precautions against errors—personal, instrumental and phenomenal—in the laboratories or by the mathematical method of "means" and probabilities—fail to reduce the residuum to nil. However great the probability for example, of the sun rising to-morrow, it yet falls short of absolute certainty.

Nor is it possible for science to lift the veil from, and show us the real nature of, its own ultimate concepts. What is matter? what is energy? what is time or space or mind or consciousness? These are problems which properly belong to Philosophy; but strictly speaking, they remain unsolved, and the ideas undefined, by both Science and Philosophy combined.

Scepticism.

The Inductive method of study, coupled with the fact that the discoveries made by modern science shattered the old articles of belief prevailing in Europe, diffused there a spirit of skepticism, which is the growing spirit of the age. The literature of Europe reflects this. Poets like birds warbling on the high trees, whilst the forest is on fire, utter the same note. Says Keats:—

> Do not all charms fly,
>
> At the touch of cold Philosophy?

There was an awful rainbow once in heaven.
We know its woof and texture; she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things;
Philosophy will clip an angel's wings.

The clergy deplore that this tendency to agnosticism is drying up the springs of faith. Says Mathew Arnold :—

The sea of Faith,
Was once too at the full, and round earth's shore,
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled;
But now I only hear
Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar
Retracting to the breath
Of the night wind, down the vast edge's drear,
And naked shringles of the world."

It is just possible, nay probable, that the contagion might spread here in India too, unless counteracted by stronger forces. The cheap series of books issued by the Rationalistic Press association are gaining increasing popularity amongst students. The critical spirit is already abroad in our country. A glance at the newspaper and periodical literature is enough to convince one of this. A Hindu writer in the *Hindustan Review* * once deplored the so-called "religious vacuity" or "shallow voltairism" in the present generation of youngmen. We are at any rate no longer content with mere authority, and want to know the how and why of things. The spirit of scientific inquiry is increasingly in evidence in the elucidation of sacred texts. Tilak's critical study of the Vedic literature, for example, led him to propound the arctic origin of the Aryans. There is, moreover, a marked lack of devotional literature in our vernaculars except perhaps in Bengal. Even the old writings of Gosain Tulsi Das, Surdas, Bhagat, Kabir and Guru Nanak are losing the hold they deserve on the educated community. That wave of enthusiasm is long past which elicited even from a Mahomedan poet Nazeer, the eulogy of Shri Krishna. Modern Urdu poetry, too, shorn of its by far the larger amorous or fanciful portion breathes a spirit of criticism, and betrays the state of uncertain ideals. Sensible prose is gaining ground day by day and thoughtful essays on a variety of topics find place in respectable vernacular reviews. Old gods are being dethroned, but new ones have not yet been set up in their places. Attempts are being made here and there to evolve systems of practical religion in conformity with the result of scientific inquiry. In Europe, rationalism is trying to work itself up, if possible, into a religion—and Positivism already lays claims to bring such a one. The birth and growth of the Dev Samaj the so-called "science grounded religion" in the Punjab is to my mind a clear indication of the prevalence, however limited, of the atheistic or agnostic tendencies of the present education.

Religious Revival.

But so far as I have been able to gauge the influence of science, I think we have not yet wholly accepted the Philosophy of Doubt—thanks to the teachings of the Upanishads—Vedant—the Bhagwad Gita and the Koran. The rise and rapid spread of the rationalistic revivals among the Hindus and Mahomedans alike seems to me to be a convincing proof of this. The founders of the Brahmo Samaj although deeply saturated with western learning have nevertheless adhered to their ancient monistic faith. So also Swami Dayanand Saraswati succeeded in establishing and popularizing the Arya Samaj on the rationalistic interpretation of the Vedas. In the Punjab and the United Provinces the literature and sermons of this reformed church have acted as a charm against the heterodoxical tendencies imparted by science. Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan was nothing if not a Reformer imbued with European ideas: and yet no more enthusiastic Mahomedan ever set himself to the task of collecting the straying flock to the fold.

Indeed, the present trend seems to me to be the other way about. The Theosophical society has brought about quite a reaction in a section of the advanced public opinion. The marvellous strides of Psychical research, and the suggestive writings of Sir Oliver Lodge, Henry Meyers and Professor Crookes not to speak of a host of other European and American savants—have lent an easy handle, and given an apparent scientific sanction, to the reinstallation of the gods of old.

Summary.

From the foregoing survey it will have become clear, I think, that the impact of western scientific ideas gave the Indian mind a rather large swing from the peaceful contemplation of the Divine philosophy and poetry. It has drawn the student away from the dreamy twilight of vague imagining and landed him in the full blaze of facts and figures. A dazed sense of bewilderment and helplessness was the first natural result. Conflicts of Science and Philosophy perturbed his thought and confounded his judgment. As the compass needle is disturbed and thrown into quick vibrations under the action of artificial magnets—or Aurora Borealis, so too the Indian mind has been swayed backwards and forwards under the influence of European science. In spite of the deflections, however, the Indian mind has, I think, up to the present remained, on the whole, true to its original bearings. It has not yet forsaken its belief in the Supreme One. nor lost that,

> Sense sublime,
> Of something far more deeply interfused
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round earth, and in the mind of man.

Rather it has held fast to the monistic faith, towards which science itself seems to point. एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ती ॥ Indian philosophy has proved a veritable lodestar or acted even as the powerful magnetism of mother earth in guiding and controlling the needle. "That art Thou," say the Upanishads, and the Vedantists add:—Not a part not a mode of that, but identically That, that absolute spirit of the world. "As pure water poured into pure water remains the same, thus O Goutama is the self of a thinker who knows. Water in water, fire in fire, ether in ether, no one can distinguish them; likewise a man whose mind has entered into the self." "Every man," says the Sufi Gulshan Raz, "whose heart is no longer shaken by any doubt knows with certainty that there is no being save only one. In his Divine mystery the me, the we, the thou, are not found, for in the one there can be no distinction." "There is a verge of the mind which these things haunt," says Professor James, "and whispers therefrom mingle with the operations of our understanding, even as the waters of the infinite ocean send their waves to break among the pebbles that lie upon our shores."

As against the melancholy roar of the ebb of the sea of faith, as quoted above from Mathew Arnold, one may sing with Swinburne—

> Here begins the sea that ends not till the world's end. Where we stand,
> Could we know the next high sea mark set beyond these waves that gleam,
> We should know what never man hath known, nor eye of man hath scann'd,
> Ah but here man's heart leaps, yearning towards the gloom with venturesome glee,
> From the shore that hath no shore beyond it set in all the sea.

INDIA AND THE TRANSVAAL.

By Mr. Henry S L. Polak.

NO doubt most people in this country, who are concerned with the condition of their compatriots in the Transvaal, are anxious to know how that condition is likely to be affected by the Union of South Africa, that has recently been accomplished. Will it be for better or for worse? Or will it remain unchanged? It is, perhaps, a little early to prophesy, yet an examination of the situation that exists at present may help us to arrive at one or two useful conclusions—useful, for two reasons, that they may help to prevent an undue pessimism and that they may enable us to avoid a quite unwarranted optimism I believe, implicitly, that, with the union, the condition of Indians in the Transvaal, and generally in South Africa, will improve. But I am equally satisfied that this improvement will be a slow and gradual growth, which may be helped by a proper appreciation of the fact in India, in order that effective representations may be made in quarters from which helpful action may be expected, when it is realised that the people of India are conscious of what they want and are determined to get it.

The South African union is not a sudden happening, though, superficially, it may appear to be so. A federation of interests has for half a century past been a theme of discussion, and but for the fact that the mistaken ideal of racial differentiation was followed, instead of a truer realisation of the essential points of difference, it might have been effected long years ago, without the catastrophe of years' war However, that may be, it is well to appreciate, at the outset, that the South African Union, as enunciated by the Act of Parliament constituting it, is a union of the interests of that section of the population which is of European descent, at least for the present. Native and Asiatic policies have not been definitely laid down, but have been left for development to the Union Ministry and Parliament. The main fact to observe, meanwhile, is that the non-European is disfranchised, and the race and colour bar has been erected against him in the very frame work of the constitution. Speaking from memory, the Cape Colony will have 51 members of the federal assembly, as against the Transvaal's thirty-five. But the Cape is here severely handicapped, for, in calculating the basis of representation, the Cape's

non-European electorate has been left out of consideration, and that Colony has seven members less than she should have. On the other hand, as new seats are created, for which the constitution provides automatically, the Cape will secure them up to the number by which she is at a disadvantage. It is necessary to lay some stress upon this for two reasons. The first is that the main hope, in South Africa, for better things for the Indian population, lies in the influence that can be exerted in the country and in Parliament by the Cape Colony. The Cape prides herself, and with a considerable degree of justice, upon the generosity of her colour policy, and it must be placed to her credit that her representatives at the constitution convention, whether Dutch or British, stood out to a man against the determined attempt made by the Transvaal delegates to rob the Cape coloured voters of the political franchise. It is only at the Cape, too, where a minister can be found publicly to condemn an act of the Cape Parliament, outwardly of general application, but, in effect, directed against the Indian trader, on the ground that it was the only instance where the statute-book of a civilised country (Natal, he evidently considered, was outside the pale of civilisation!) created a bench of biassed judges, and to declare his intention to do his utmost to secure the repeal of the objectionable measure. So that whatever ground for optimism is to be found in South Africa may be sought in the attitude of the Cape Colony.

On the other hand, there is the non-European voting element of the Colony, which is becoming increasingly influential. It includes an appreciable number of Indian voters, but consists mainly of "coloured" (*i. e.*, half caste), electors. These are very amicably inclined to the Indian community, on the whole, and have been following the course of the Transvaal struggle with almost painful eagerness. In the main, and under the guidance of their leaders, chief of whom is Dr. Abdurrahman, and the advice of such influential public men as the Hon'ble Mr. W. P. Schreiner, they may be depended upon to throw their weight into the balance on behalf of the persecuted Indian, for to-day they regard him as the protagonist of the coloured races of South Africa as against the aggression of the European. Too much stress, however, should not be laid upon these favourable phenomena, for, as against the loyalty of the coloured vote, there is to be set the always greater sympathy of the European community for the natives and the "coloured" people and the latent hostility that exists everywhere

towards the Asiatic population. The former are the devils known to the Europeans; the latter are the unknown devils. It is true that, as the Johannesburg correspondent of the *Pioneer* points out, the Indians in South Africa will find their position improved in common with that of the non-European population generally, but it is equally true that this improved situation will be slow in coming, that the Indians are the least popular of all the coloured peoples of the Union, and that theirs will be the last grievances to be remedied. On the whole, there is a settled bias in favour of progress and amelioration, and this may be expected to increase with the increase of Cape influence in the counsels of South Africa, due to its proportionately larger population and its deeper culture, notwithstanding the great immediate weight that the Transvaal carries, due to its preponderant financial importance.

There are other factors in the situation, too, that may be balanced against each other. For example, the Transvaal, Orangia, and Natal members of the assembly will usually be found ranged against the Cape members in any matter affecting the colour policy of the union, and the Transvaal will lead. But, on the other hand, there will be very divided counsels, for there will be nothing like the unanimity in the Union Parliament that existed, on these subjects, in the former Colonial assemblies, and the Cape members, it is believed, are sufficiently devoted to their creed of legal equality for all civilised men south of the Zambesi to be able to prevent the passing of further legislation of a reactionary type, and even to procure the passage of more progressive measures, in order to ensure the maintenance of the Union. Then, again, whilst, it is true, General Botha is Prime Minister, and General Smuts, Minister of the Interior, in control of Asiatic affairs, these matters must be dealt with by the Ministry as a whole, including of four Cape Colony men, of whom one is Minister for Native affairs and another is pronouncedly negrophile. There will thus be, not infrequently, a division of opinion on racial matters within the Ministry itself. It is noteworthy, indeed, that General Botha, in his recent general declaration of policy, did not speak of "excluding" Asiatic immigration, but only of "preventing" it—a distinction with a difference. Asiatic immigration is "prevented", in Natal and the Cape Colony, by the imposition of the Education test. It is excluded, in the Transvaal, by the racial test. Here then, is a marked divergence of policy between the chief inland province and the coast states. Above and beyond this, moreover, it must be

remembered that Dr. Jameson is to lead the opposition forces, and that he is deeply hostile to the anti-Asiatic measures that have been adopted by the Transvaal. Lastly, there is the composition of the Senate. It is true that, generally speaking, the eight members that each state sends are elderly gentlemen, crusted with the prejudices of the past, with the possible exception of the Cape element. But here, again, making for progress will be the eight Senators, nominated by the Governor-General to represent the interests of the non-European population, and to prevent the passing of hastily-devised legislation of the type of the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907, which has resulted in so much heart-burning and misery. So far, then, as the Indians in the Transvaal and Natal are concerned, and these are by far the most numerous and influential, they stand to gain a great deal by the intervention of the Cape. On the other hand, the Cape Indians, who are considerably worse organised, and lacking in effective leadership, will be bound to improve their organisation and increase their power for co-operation, lest the reactionary influences of the other provinces should alter their condition for the worse.

The recent wholesale deportations were General Smut's last effort to "smash" the Transvaal Indian agitation before the commencement of the Union. His effort was eminently unsuccessful, for the agitation continues undiminished. But the Ministry is not likely to deal with the matter in dispute in any final manner for some time to come, possibly not until after the meeting of Parliament next November. Whether or not a satisfactory settlement is arrived at is still a moot point, but it is extremely unlikely that the Union will decide to assume the wretched legacy bequeathed by the dead Transvaal Parliament. General Smuts' methods, as Transvaal Colonial Secretary, with practical unanimity on both sides of the house behind him, might have commended themselves to his fellow-Transvaalers. As Minister of the Interior of the South African Union, he must reckon with a much greater amount of hostile criticism, of a kind that he cannot properly ignore, than he has done hitherto. The future of the Indians in South Africa depends, to a great extent, upon the attitude that is adopted by the Indian public. Notwithstanding all that has been said and written so far, it is not easy for the South African Colonists to realise that India is deeply moved by what is happening in the sub-continent. The Bill to prohibit the further

recruitment of Indian labour for Natal, of whose probable effects I have written elsewhere,* will do something to awaken them to an appreciation of the degree of bitterness that has been aroused. But more than this is required. India's greatest safe-guard to-day lies in the existence of a not inconsiderable number of men and women in South Africa, who detest and abominate the Transvaal's Asiatic policy, and who are moved largely by Imperial considerations. This is an influential section of the community, and if India will so express herself as to bring home to it a keen realisation of the Imperial danger that has been created by the Transvaal trouble, there is no doubt that a great step in advance can be made. It is to this section that Lords Morley and Crewe have, in the main, to appeal, and India can, if she wishes, immensely strengthen the hands of Imperial Ministers in the conduct of the important, nay, even critical, negotiations that are pending. Between now and November next, much can be done. Will it be done?

* *Indian Review*, June, 1910.

ANCIENT INDIA'S COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.—II.

By Prof. Jogindranath Samaddar.

WE digressed in our last paper just a little to show that inspite of the references in the Greek authors, we can find distinct traces of passages in books where great prominence is given to commerce and to sea borne trade. We shall again take up our thread of narrative.

We referred in the first part of this article to the Phoenicians or "The old Travellers" as they were called. In truth, there was a close commercial connexion with Syria and Egypt. The direct commercial relations with India and Syria ceased with the conquest of Syria by the Roman Emperor Aurelius. But the connexion with Egypt* and Greece *via* Alexandria was becoming closer day by day, and the Ptolemys gave great encouragement to commerce. The *Ancient History of the Egyptians* says,

> Ptolemy thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red Sea from whence the ships were to sail. He accordingly built one almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia and he gave it the name of his mother Berenice. The treasure of Arabia, India, Persia and Ethiopia where landed and from thence they were carried on camel to Coptus where they were again shipped and brought down the Nile to Alexandria which transmitted them to all the West in exchange for merchandise afterwards exported to the East.†

Thirty years before the birth of Christ when Emperor Augustus conquered Egypt, the flourishing commerce fell into the hands of the Romans. The Romans were hitherto enjoying the luxuries of the East in a round about way but now that the very emporium fell into their own hand, they began to employ their wonted energy with the result that a fleet was prepared for trading with the East and a closer commercial relation grew up between Rome and India. The spirit of adventure grew up day by day and forsaking the old circuitous route, they began to sail from the coasts of the Babelmandeb and come direct to Malabar and Guzerat by Sea. The mariner Hippaulans noticed the directions of the monsoons and began to sail by this way. The result was that the journey now took half the time than it used to take before.

* "In the tombs dating from the time of the 18th dynasty which ended in 1462 B. C. there are said to have been found mummies wrapt up in Indian muslins. Moreover the old Egyptians used Indigo for dyeing purposes and this vegetable produce could be obtained only from India—*op cit*

† Vide *The Ancient History of the Egyptians* published by The Religious Tract Society.

From this time, till the fall of the western Empire, there was constant exchange of commodities. Every year a fleet of 120 ships sailed from Myos Hormos * and came to Mancuris and Borace on the Malabar coast and thence sailed to Ceylon. Ceylon then was a great emporium and merchants from Bengal, Orissa and Karnat (the present Karnatic) used to come there and exchange commodities. The Romans used to buy our goods in exchange for gold and silver and having completed their purchases this fleet of 120 ships used to return home [illegible]. Generally they left Ceylon in December or in January and silk, muslin, spices and essences as well as pearls and other valuable stones used to leave our shores in this way. This exchange of Indian commodities for gold and silver is fully corroborated by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *History of India* (1st edition, p. 337).

Roman gold coins of the early empire have been discovered in such large quantities in Southern India that it is apparent that they served for the gold currency of the peninsula. Five coolie loads of coins were found in 1851 near Cannanore on the Malabar Coast, mostly belonging to the mintage of Tiberius and Nero, and many other large loads of Roman coins of gold, silver and copper have been discovered in various localities from time to time.

Mr. Vincent Smith truly remarks that "it is certain that the Pandya State, during the early centuries of the Christian era, shared along with the Chera kingdom of Malabar a very remunerative trade with the Roman Empire." ‡ Pliny has justly said in writing of the commercial relations with India that †

Amidst the rude ignorance which characterised the middle ages in Europe, the commerce with India served to soften and instruct those nations who participated in it and in modern times it fostered that spirit of enterprise which was destined to render navigation subservient to philosophy and knowledge by making the inhabitants of far distant countries acquainted with each other and by familiarizing their minds to the various habitudes and customs that diversify human life.

* "Myos Hormos called also Aphrodite and according to Agatharchides, the "Port of Venus," stood in latitude 27° 22' upon a flat coast backed by low mountains distant from it about 3 miles, where a well called the Fons Tadnos supplied the town and ships with water. The port was more capacious than those of Berenice and Philoteras, and though exposed to the winds, it was secure against the force of a tempestuous sea."—Topographical History of Egypt in the *Ancient History of the Egyptians*.

† "In no year does India drain our Empire of less than 550 millions of Sesterces, giving back her own wares in exchange which are sold at fully *one hundred times their prime cost*."

‡ The Kingdoms of the South were in exclusive possession of the much prized pearl fisheries which had its head quarter first at Korkai and afterwards at Kayal. The silting up of the Delta rendered Korkai inaccessible to ships and its commercial business was transferred to the new port Kayal. Kayal continued to be for many centuries one of the greatest marts of the East down to the time of Marco Polo.

* Even as late as (400 A D) coins of Arcadius and Honorius of the smallest value have been found in such numbers at Madura and suggestions have been made that there might have been even a Roman colony at Madura † At any rate, there is no denying the fact that Rome and India were then in the closest ties of commercial friendship

When the capital was removed to Constantinople in 324, the Western Empire declined and with it the trade through Egypt and the Red Sea ceased altogether The merchants of Alexandria were becoming too much luxurious day by day and simultaneously the craving for commerce came on the Arabs The Arabs were already proficient in navigation and the new energy which they received now by the propagation of Islamism, infused a new spirit amongst this hardy nation Actuated by an irresistible impulse to convert all, they hankered after going to new lands to propagate their new religion As an outcome, commercial relations were established with India where the Arabs intended to preach as well as to enrich themselves by trading A fleet of ships expressly manned to trade with India began to come year after year and Arabians began to settle on the Coasts of Malabar It is even said that to soothe their commercial way they converted the Zamorin who was induced by the Dervishes to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca Thus the Arabian commerce thrived* The Egyptians forgetting their own interest and being able to procure Indian commodities at less trouble though at greater cost through the Arabians and Persians refrained altogether from continuing their relations with the Indian ports

The Persians were at first loath to maritime enterprises but learning from Indian merchants the route from the Persian Gulf to the Malabar Coast began to engage themselves in maritime enterprises and used to send ships to different ports in the Malabar Coast They either used to exchange their own commodities or buy Indian commodities with money The time taken up for a single voyage was at an average ten weeks When the goods reached the Euphrates, they were carried by boats to Assyria and Mesopotamia and as the people of Constantinople

* It is probable that the venerable St Thomas came to India sometime in this period of commercial activity

† It is inperesting to note that two Roman coins have now been found so far up country as Coimbatoor Both uufortunately are in a poor state of preservation One is a coin of the cassia family and on the reverse under a device which is too worn out to be made out is the legend and Cassivus, from the other the inscriptions have been entirely worn away but the reverse shows a bull charging to the right and the coin probably is one of Augustus Well might the Roman author say "Thousands of Sesteri are withdrawn throughout the year from our Empire to the Indian Peninsula so much do our pleasures and the women cost us

could get Indian production without the risk and troubles incidental to adventurous voyages, the desire to indulge in commercial pursuit began to die in them.

It was for these reasons that the Persians and the Arabs made a monopoly of Indian commerce in the 7th century A. D. but as the Persians possessed many natural advantages, they began to predominate over the Arabians and soon the Persians altogether monopolised the silk trade of the East. As a war broke out between the Persian King and the Emperor of Constantinople, China silk which used to reach Greece through Tartary was also stopped and the Persians began to charge exorbitant rates for these silks. The Emperor Justinian tried to remedy this evil but for a long time was unsuccessful. At last, providence found out a way. Two monks who had come to China and India for preaching the Gospel had seen the rearing of silk worms and the manufacture of silk. They in their course of conversation with Justinian spoke of this and the Emperor urged on these monks to return and learn fully the art and manufacture of silk. They spent a few years in China and having learnt fully the art, took in a hollow cane a few worms and went back to Constantinople. These worms were placed on dung and when hatched were fed with mulberry leaves. The hopes of the Emperor were fulfilled and manufactories were established in some of the Grecian islands. * Thus the export of silk from China and India to Rome stopped altogether but other commodities still found their market in Greece in the following few centuries.

We had already said that the new religion of Mohamed invigorated and gave a new life to his followers. After the death of the Prophet, Omar conquered Persia and gave his religion to the Persians and established the Khaliphate. With Persia, the Indian trade also fell into the hands of the Mahomedans. The Khaliphs in order to encourage commerce established a port at Basora which became soon an important mart and finding Indian trade very advantageous they intended to introduce Indian commodities into Syria. When Egypt and Syria fell into the hands of the Caliphs, the Alexandrine merchants were prohibited to trade with Byzantian Kingdoms and as there was constant warfare with Mahomedans and the Greeks, the Grecians and Italians were deprived of enjoying the pleasure of using Indian commodites.

Those Roman monks who had carried silk worms in their canes knew that Amal and Archenzi (modern Archenzel) on the Oxus were also marts for Indian and Chinese goods. Some of the adventurous merchants of Constantinople sent their agents to these ports and they managed to send commodities through the Caspian Sea and the River Cyrus. Here they were embarked and then conveyed by land to some distance and thence again

* *Vide* Gibbon, Chap. XL, where a full description is given.

by the Black Sea ultimately reaching Constantinople. The Mahomedans at this time were very powerful. They established a Colony at Malabar and had commercial relations with Bengal, Syam and China. Greece and Rome viewed with great jealousy the rise of this Mahomedan power.

Venice had from the middle of the fifth century established commercial connexions with Alexandria and Constantinople and by the middle of the sixth century had exported from India and China silks. From the beginning of the ninth century spices, medicines, and silk of India used to reach the marts of Venice and Venice began to hoard wealth and to grow rich by this Indian commerce. At the end of the crusades, amicable relationship having been established between the Christians and the Mahomedans, the route through Egypt was reopend and thus Indian commodities again began to reach the continent of Europe

Even before Venice, Genoa had enjoyed to a small extent Indian commodities and when Venice and Genoa were each thwarting the other, Florence was rising under the Medicis. Under the fostering care of the Medicis, the Florentians began to trade with the East and commerce thrived. When Egypt and Syria were conquered by Selim, Venice forsook her neighbours and gradually when Cyprus fell into her hands, she made a monopoly of the Eastern trade and Cyprus soon became an emporium. The fall of Constantinople ruined the Genoese trade with the East by the Black Sea but the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, gradually undermined the Venetian trade by Alexandria

The Portuguese, were the first who explored the South Atlantic Coasts of Africa and by their discovery they opened up to the nations of Europe the Sea way through the Indian Archipelago We are all familiar with the subsequent events and we need not go into them.

LORD CURZON'S WORK IN INDIA: AN AMERICAN APPRECIATION.

By Mr. George Harvey, Editor *of the North American Review.*

LORD CURZON has the supreme merit, apart from other qualities, of being the greatest living authority on India. India fascinated Lord Curzon from his earliest youth; he visited it frequently long before he became its ruler and visited it, I need hardly say, not as a mere tourist, but as a statesman, a student and an administrator already familiar with the problems of oriental government; and seven years, from 1898 to 1905, he held the office of Viceroy and turned its powers and opportunities to masterful and resounding use. He has thus known the great dependency, as perhaps no other man has ever known it, both from the inside and the outside; he has been able to envisage it in relation to the foreigner and Imperial interests of his country; and there is not a branch of Indian Policy or a detail of Indian administration with which he has failed to familiarize himself or which has escaped the impress of his compelling personality.

It is odd to recall nowadays the start of astonishing and apprehension with which England twelve years ago heard the news of his appointment to the Viceroyalty of India. Disraeli hardly raised a greater commotion when he nominated Lord Lytton to the same high office. For some Lord Curzon was too young—a fantastic objection, first, because the most sucessful Viceroys of India have all been men of between forty and fifty; secondly, because Lord Curzon is precisely one of those men—Pitt was another and Mr. Winston Churchill is a third—who never have been and never could be really young. Others doubted the wisdom of sending out a man with just enough knowledge of the country, as they thought, to incline him to his own judgment and not enough to make that judgment really trustworthy. They feared lest Lord Curzon's naturally dogmatic and combative temperament would lead him to trust to his tourist impressions rather than to the advice of his official councillors. Still more, and some of the members of the Liberal party, looking to the strong anti-Russian strain that runs through Lord Curzon's works on China and Persia, took his nomination as a sign that the designs of India's northern neighbour were to be checkmated by a new and vigorous policy which might end in serious embroilment. Remembering, too, Lord Curzon's staunchness as a party man, they saw little chance of his abandoning the Forward Policy which the Conservatives had apparently made their own. Others again somewhat dreaded the impact of his personality upon the Indian bureaucracy. The House of Commons, and indeed the whole country, was only just beginning, in 1898, to understand Lord Curzon and to pierce through his little mannerisms to the real man behind them. It admired him, but it rather laughed at him. He showed, perhaps, too openly a cold contempt for the stupidity of his fellow mortals who made up the bulk of his fellow members. He had chosen a public career for himself at an early age and fitted himself for it with an industry that might be called a passion, reading Blue Books while other men read novels and burrowing in statistics while his

frivolous contemporaries shot pheasants. Omniscience and the Oxford manner, it was complained, hung heavily upon him; and what Mr. Labouchere used to call "the sport of taking Curzon down a peg" became a regular Radical pastime. But it was a pastime not without its dangers. Few men came out of an encounter with Lord Curzon feeling that they had had the best of it. The average M.P. stood no chance whatever against his gorgeous rhetoric, his mastery of the grand manner and the annoying fact that he not only pronounced all the foreign places correctly, but had been to them, written of them, and "ought to know."

It was precisely this quality of overwhelmingness that those who knew the Indian bureaucracy best predicted would be Lord Curzon's chief stumbling-block. The society and officialdom of Simla and Calcutta, naturally enough, prefer a "manageable" Viceroy without much force of character or initiative, one who will contentedly remain a gold-gilt dummy and figurehead, who will put himself frankly in the hands of his council, who will preside but abstain from governing and who will receive his policies and his information at third or fourth hand. Lord Curzon never had any intention of being a Viceroy of that stamp. He landed in India with a policy; he proceeded at once to unfold it; and up to the very moment of his resignation he was remorselessly absorbed in carrying it out. Perhaps that was why few Viceroys have ever been so abundantly criticised or have aroused, both personally and politically, such heated disagreement. The strength of his self-assurance, his merciless insistence on efficiency, the vast sweep of his reforms, the trenchancy of his dialectics and his unshakable resolve to deal fairly all round—all these characteristics stirred up against him, singly or together, a vast array of antagonisms. The Bengalis whom he lectured on their untruthfulness; the British regiment whom he publicly disgraced because it failed to discover and punish the private who had murdered an Indian; the feudatory princes whom he admonished on statesmanlike lines, but somewhat in the tone of a reproving schoolmaster; the veteran civil servants whom he browbeat, overruled, outargued and made to feel that he was Viceroy in fact as well as name; and the society people whom his bearing often repelled—had all their special grievances against him. No one ever rattled the bureaucratic bones as he did; no one ever drove the machine of State with such unremitting power. He made as little effort as does Mr. Roosevelt to cultivate the small, softening, lubricating graces and the social instinct that came so easily to Lord Dufferin. No Viceroy, on the other hand, ever worked harder or accomplished more or proved so great an inspiration to the zeal and practicality of those under him. Lord Morley paid to him a year or so ago in the House of Lords a tribute as generous as it was deserved:

"I hope," he declared, "it will not be bad taste to say in the noble Lord's presence that you will never send to India, and you have never sent to India, a Viceroy his superior, if, indeed, his equal, in force of mind, in unsparing and remorseless industry, in passionate and devoted interest in all that concerns the wellbeing of India, with an imagination fired by the grandeur of the political problem that India presents—you never sent a man with more of all these attributes than when you sent Lord Curzon."

Much of the unpopularity that gathered round his Viceroyalty, let it be said at once, was of the kind that did him honour and could not have been avoided without a sacrifice of duty. Thus the partition of Bengal and the creation of a new

frontier province were both unpopular measures and fiercely resented, but both were necessary. They were reforms that might have been effected in a different manner, with more regard to the feelings and interests of those concerned, but that were, at any rate, carried out and assuredly will never be undone. The outstanding feature of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty was, indeed, precisely this: that what his predecessors for thirty years merely talked of doing he actually did. He showed the Chatham "touch"; the faculty for getting things done. On all the matters he took in hand he stamped the impress of his energy and thoroughness, leaving for his successors a definite foundation to build on with a detailed plan of the superstructure to be erected and not merely voluminous reports and sketchy outlines. He did not content himself with discussing projects; he put them through; he rescued them from the oceans of ink in which they were sinking and set them finally on their feet. And to a devouring industry and practicality Lord Curzon added the priceless gift of imagination—not the imagination of sensationalism, a poor, ill-balanced, unrelated thing, but the imagination that comes, and can alone come, from profound knowledge and profound sympathy.

"If our rule in India is to last," he once declared, "it must depend on the eternal moralities of righteousness and justice. Unless we can persuade the millions of India that we will give them absolute justice as between man and man, equality before the law, freedom from tyranny, injustice and oppression, then your Empire will not touch their heart and will fade away. . . . Let no man admit the craven fear that those who have won India cannot hold it That is not my forecast of the future. To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom, that our work is righteous and that it shall endure."

There spoke the true statesman, inspired with the authentic spirit of British Imperialism. It was in that spirit that Lord Curozn laboured throughout his Viceroyalty. It was that spirit that drove him in the terrible summer that were devastated by famine. It was that spirit that made him risk his life and set to all India a vibrant example of British courage and spmpathy in visit after visit to the plague-stricken in the hospitals.

Much of his unpopularity whether with the Indians or with the British officials, was honourable to him. Among the latter he covered himself with obloquy because he tried to hold, and succeeded in holding, an even balance between Englishmen and Indians. "Only those who have lived in India," says an experienced and impartial authority,

know how subtle and numerous are the influeneces which warp our judgment on this question of questions, and how much courage is needed to brave the storm which is so quickly kindled in the English community when it suspects partiality in favour of Indians. Lord Curzon was aware that at one period he ran the risk of being hooted and pelted by the English of Calcutta—a town for which he has always felt a peculiar regard—because of the action he took in the cause of an Englishman accused of beating a coolie to death, but he faced the storm with equanimity in the cause of just dealing.

That was an unpopularity that will be held by reasonable men among his first titles to fame; but we are bound to add that as often as not he ruffled both English and Indian susceptibilties from sheer heedlessness, overconfidence

and disdain for the petty arts of management and conciliation. But admitting that some of the disfavour with which he ultimately came to be regarded by Indians and English alike was gratuitously incurred and constituted a real political defect in his administration, it is still mere unbridled partisanship to pretend that it outweighed or nullified the immense value of his practical achievements. It is not possible as yet to assess those achievements at anything like their true worth. The data are lacking or are only partially forthcoming. It is too soon to judge precisely the results of his policy in Tibet, in Afghanistan, on the Indian frontier and in Persia : but enough is known to make one believe that never were the foreign affairs of India—which, remember, are the pivot of nearly all British foreign policy—so ably, courageously and successfully conducted

So, too, with his internal administration. It is premature to pass judgment on it. But this much at least may be said, that he was able to realize the proud task which he set before himself on assuming the Viceroyalty—the task of "placing upon the anvil every branch of Indian policy and administration, of testing its efficiency and durability, and of doing, if possible, something for its efficiency and durabillty." Look at the mere record of his activities. He altered the assessment of the land revenue ; devised new methods for educating the feudatory chiefs; opened up military careers for the Indian aristocracy ; reorganized primary, secondary and technical education; reformed the Indian police; appointed and supervised a commission to lay down a comprehensive scheme of irrigation that will decide for the next fifty years the operations of Government ; zealously furthered meanwhile the building of canals and railways ; partitioned Bengal and created a new frontier province ; rescued the Civil Service from a part at least of the tyranny of the pen by abolishing a large number of reports and by encouraging a return to the old patriarchal style of rulership; ventured upon a most interesting and far-reaching experiment in economics by forbidding the Punjab peasant to offer his land as security for debt; almost halved the cost of telegraphic communcation between England and India ; effected a comparatively stable rate of exchange in the currency system ; fostered Indian industries and arts and showed the passion of a scholar and an archæologist for the preservation of historical remains. It is true that his policy, and his whole conception of what the British Raj should be, excluded the idea of making any political concessions to Indian demands and that efficiency and justice were the only goals he admitted to be worth striving for. It is true also that his policy of upholding good government rather than self-government as the aim of British rule has been largely reversed by his successor. To us, who hold that any kind of self-government is preferable to any kind of any other, this seems a fortuitous fact. But nothing can detract from the enduring merit of what Lord Curzon actually accomplished. He understood, he dared, he achieved ; and he will stand out in history as one of the bravest, the sanest of Viceroys.

AS AN INDIAN SEES AMERICA: AMERICAN "TRUSTS": AN OBJECT LESSON IN HONESTY—I.

By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh.

THE American "trust" is the foulest cess-pool in existence on the face of the globe. It vitiates the American body politic in a multiplicity of subtle ways, rendering the community so cancerous that its very entity totters on the verge of a painful, shameful dissolution. Everything in America is "trustified". This, in plain, every-day English means that some American holds in the hollow of his hand the production and sale of both the necessities and luxuries of life: that this monopolist—invariably a man without heart, a wretch without sense or feeling other than for amassing money—dictates at what price this commodity shall be sold. If you smoke: you must make your obeisance to the man at the head of the Tobacco Trust—and mind you, obeisance in such a case virtually signifies that you must crawl on your belly, wallowing in the mud. You must pay the price that the tobacco king levies on you. If you are refractory: well, then, go without your smoke; or if your craving overpowers you, make your humble submission and do your penance to your tobacco god, and maybe he will dole out to you a cigarette or a cigar, provided you pay him what he asks for it. You cannot talk to the trust king. His sanctum is quite impregnable. His holy of holies is guarded by able—bodied, muscular men. Also the minions of the law are in the pay of the money king. they will punish you if you endeavour to intrude. You cannot assail the head of the combine through the columns of the newspaper. The organs of the press receive a subsidy from him: they will not jeopardize their income merely for the sake of performing a Christian service by helping you out. Even the law is not on your side: for it is in the power of the money-king to have the law under which an adverse decision has been rendered against him declared "unconstitutional". What is there for you to do but to acknowledge yourself whipped and abide by the mandates of this man who has it in his power to cut off your supply of tobacco. And remember this: this *persona grata* has a cousin who is at the head of the Sugar Trust. Unless you suffer from the malady which makes it impossible for you to eat sugar, you better look out and not offend the sugar magnate. It is easier to go without tobacco than sugar You may be brave enough to do without both tobacco and sugar rather than pay the prices for them which the trust men demand and which you know are iniquitous. but you cannot do without everything. More than likely your milk supply is controlled by a Trust: your kerosine, gas, electricity—all illuminants-are under combines: your transportation service is operated by a Trust. You are damned if you are down on the Trusts. A half dozen men at the head of a half dozen trusts own the United States. They are Czars whose wishes must be anticipated and literally carried out: otherwise there is the deuce to pay. If you attempt to go into business for yourself, the Trust crushes you. You have no chance to exist except at the will of a corporation king.

The President of the United States, with all the authority vested in him, quails at the thought of incurring the displeasure of one of the money-gods of his land. In the first place, these potentates dictate whether a man shall or shall not go to the " White House ". In the second instance, these men can withdraw the billions of dollars they possess from circulation and thus bring about a " panic " throwing business out of joint and working-men out of employment, thus compromising the government of the day.

Barring the fact that, through their short-sightedness, the Trust Kings are buying tickets straightway to perdition, these men are clever—clever in the sense of the thief who steals but knows how to escape being caught. Associated with the heads of the Trusts are men—and unfortunately women—who are clever in the same sense of the word. These associates will do anything, no matter how nefarious it may be, for the sake of the blood-money that they will get out of it. These men and women make it their business to give the appearance of legality to everything that the Trust does, no matter how crooked and illegal it may be. In considering this, let it be remembered that law, in the United States, is merely a matter of interpretation—and, moreover, the Trust men know how to kill any law that has a semblance of inconvenience to them.

These factors have made the United States the stage for the enactment of a farce beyond doubt the most imposing in luridness. Here is a country, by the claim of its citizens, " the land of the free and the home of the brave" (?)—the most democratic spot in the world, yet its 80,000,000 people are driven like dumb, insignificant beasts by the goads of men whose number can be counted on the fingers of two hands, and whose hypocricy and unscrupulousness are beyond description. The Government of the United States is aware of this cancerous growth. There are some men at the helm who are attempting to apply the knife to this leprous condition This is the claim. How justifiable it is a recent incident will disclose. A notoriously greedy and God-forsaken Trust in the United States was lately prosecuted by the Federal Government. A Federal Judge was found who possessed the temerity to find the corporation guilty of the charges under which it was indicted The combine was fined Rs. 8, 70,00,0,000. The imposition of this huge sum of money did not seem to disturb the equanimity of the authorities of the Oil Trust, the guilty party in question. In fact, it was popularly rumoured that the price of the Oil Trust products was to go up and the defenceless public, and not the Trust would pay the Rs. 8,70,00,000 that the Court had assessed. No such thing happened, however. The price of coal oil (kerosine) products did not go up. But the company did not pay one pie, much less Rs. 8,70,00,000, to the Government. The Supreme Court of the United States—the highest judicial authority in the land—reversed the decision of the lower court and completely wiped off the record every pie of the ponderous fine. Who is there in the world, much less in the United States—who would question the legality of this decision or even whisper that anything " irregular" occurred in the remission of this Rs. 8, 70, 00, 000 fine? The Trust in America can do nothing illegal—this is a sheer impossibility. The Trust lawyers see to it that the money-kings shall not be caught, no matter how unethical an act they may perform. The legal ability of the Trust lawyers combined with the pliability of the American law, enables the barristers to succeed in their quest for a precedent. And the poor public that

is not defended by shrewd lawyers, nor benefited by the ductility of the law, is ground to atoms by the Trusts.

The impotence of the United States Government to curb the lawless combines from tyrannizing over its people is a fact that forcefully impresses a foreigner travelling in America. If some one could analyze the causes of this impotence and state the analysis, without suppressing any detail or varnishing any ugly, disreputable evidence, a chapter thrilling in the extreme could be written. Some side lights have been thrown on this phase of the subject previously in this series (*). The theme is fascinating and a great deal could be written on the topic but further reference to it would, in a sense, be covering the same ground over again, and, for that reason, the writer feels constrained to overcome the mighty temptation to elaborately dilate on this point.

There is one side of this question of the domination of the Trusts over all phases of American life, political, social and economic, however, that needs to be uncovered to the public. Every intelligent foreigner ought to be made to understand how the American combine chokes competition, killing opposition and absorbing its one time competitor in a gigantic system of industrial slavery, the like of which the world has never before known. Such a study is absorbing in interest and offers the world an invaluable lesson in honesty (sic). The methods employed are wondrous in ingenuity of conception, marvellous in perfection of detail, astonishing in the vigour put into the execution of the plan. The campaign from end to end, both in plan and execution, is so consummately unscrupulous that the Devil could with profit learn the art of trickery from its authors. Ethics, humanity, brotherliness, these and like terms are absolutely absent from the Trust vocabulary. The Trust magnate proposes to accomplish results in how nefarious a way, in how underhanded, shameless and despicable a manner, he does not care. There is just one consideration other than attaining his end that he keeps in view. This is give an appearance of legality to everything that is done, no matter how unholy it may be, and, if caught in the meshes of an inconvenient, irritating law, have it declared illegal, 'unconstitutional', to quote the proper phrase.

The annals of the United States, especially of this generation, furnish many apt illustrations of the devious devices employed by the Trusts in throttling competitors. The material available is of such bulk that selection is almost impossible. I cite a case which happened but yesterday so to speak. One reason for this citation is that it shows how the mighty government of the mighty American republic was enlisted by a corporation to put one of its powerful competitors out of existence. Another reason for selecting this case is the fact that the writer is personally acquainted with the individual whom the Trust campaigned to put out of business. This man - E. G. Lewis, of St. Louis, Missouri—is a great man, unswerving in honesty and of unimpeachable character. Mr. Lewis is a self made man. He has become many times a millionaire from literally nothing. He is a publisher of several periodicals and

(*) This refers to "As an Indian Sees America IV. V. "The Seamy Side of American Politics", which appeared in the *Hindustan Review* for January and February, 1909.

two daily papers whose total circulation amounts to over 10,000,000 per month and which are said to net him and his stockholders over Rs. 15,00,000 annually. He is to-day but 39 years old, and is constantly forging ahead, winning new laurels, earning more money. No mere money-maker is this man Lewis. He will tell you himself in so many words, that he is no philanthropist: but he is a great friend of mankind and especially of that down-trodden domestic beast woman. Through his publications he is constantly working for the uplift of the masses—infusing inspiration in them to rise superior to their surroundings and amount to something in this world. There is not one Post Office in the United States, not the smallest village in the country, where one or more people do not come, daily, weekly or monthly, in live contact with Mr. Lewis through his publications It is this man whom a Trust—the Express Trust—the third biggest combine in the United States, or, for that matter, in the world, wanted to "kill" in a business sense.

In order to properly understand the case, a clear conception must be formed of what this Express Trust is, and what its functions are. Candidly speaking, the Express Trust is the personification of the impotency of the United States Government. It transacts business that legitimately belongs to the Government—that Governments in other parts of the world are engaged in transacting—and charges more than the government would assess for the same service. The Express Trust operates what we would call in India the "Parcels Post" yet by no means is it to be supposed that the Trust is a department of the governmental Post Office. The government has nothing to do with the Express combine except to be, in a measure, controlled by it in an underhand manner. In the United States there is no Parcels Post—that is to say, the Post Office is not allowed to maintain and operate such a service. The carrying of parcels from one place to another in the country has been ceded by the government to certain corporations. These commercial companies have formed themselves into a combine. The carrying of parcels is, therefore, a monopoly in the United States. No individual or collection of individuals save the members of this combine are permitted to carry parcels in the country. This condition of affairs has been brought about by keeping Trust men in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and trusting to them to see to it that no legislation inimical to the Trust interests is passed. The various companies merged in the Trust are like so many dogs and the public of the United States the bones on which these voracious animals feed. Each member of the combine is given an exclusive territory—that is to say, each dog has its own pile of bones, to pick at, and consequently they do not engage in a fight over the bones, thus giving stray curs a chance to carry them away as spoils. The Express companies, like all monopolists, charge exorbitant prices for their services. What the government would carry in India 1,000 miles for 2 annas the American Express Company would carry 100 miles and demand 8 annas and may be 1 rupee. The American Post Office has Parcels Post affiliations with many foreign countries: but not an internal Parcels Post system. The anomaly of this "system"—fiasco would better describe it—forcefully impressed me sometime ago. I had prepared the manuscript for a book, to which an American editor had to write an introduction. This manuscript had to be sent from Cambridge, Illinois to Boston,

Massachusetts less than 1,500 miles distance. The Express Company charged me 35 cents—for performing this service each way, making Rs. 2-2-0 altogether. The same manuscript, its weight increased by the introduction written in Boston, I sent through the United States Post Office to India, a matter of probably 15,000 miles, for 7 cents—less than 4 annas The disparity in figures is so apparent that it needs no comment

Why this anomaly, you may ask Let the reader put this question to the gentlemen who conduct the government of the boastful republic the writer—for that matter, any honest American citizen—cannot very well answer this question In the laws that govern the Post Office one finds this provision

"That mailable matter of the fourth class(*) shall embrace all matter not embraced in the first, second or third class, which is not in its form or nature liable to destroy, deface or otherwise damage the contents of the mail bag or harm the person of anyone, engaged in the Postal service, and is not above the weight provided by law, which is hereby declared to be not exceeding four pounds for each package thereof, except in the case of single books weighing in excess of that amount etc Section 20 of Act March 3, 1879, as amended by Act of June 8 1896, 2d Supp R S. U S , page 507.

Yet the Express Companies carry parcels in the United States This law is given a peculiar twist a strange interpretation is put on certain simple terms used in the section quoted above, with a view to enabling the Express Trust to perform a service that is legitimately within the province of the Postal Department of the United States Now the Express Trust not only handles the Parcel Posts in the United States it also maintains and operates an internal money-order service This again is an anomaly of the deepest dye since the government Post Office also issues internal money orders Strange to say, the United States Government allows the Express Companies, in this manner, to compete with its own Post Office This appears all the more strange since the competition offered by the Express Companies is underhanded The money order fees charged by the Trust are lower than those demanded by the Post Office, Furthermore 60 per cent of the Post Offices in America do not issue any money orders at all—why? probably the Express Trust could explain it It is a significant fact that many of these Post Offices that do not issue Post Office Money Orders, are prepared to issue Express money orders. The cheapness of the service coupled with the fact that in many localities the Express Company Office is the only money order issuing office, makes it possible for the Express Trust to annually earn millions of dollars through this money order division alone

Now, what Mr. E G Lewis did was to come in active conflict with the Money Order Department of the Express Trust He devised a scheme (presently described) which made the Express Companies lose probably 60,00,000 of rupees in 8 months Mr Lewis did not do this as if he had thrown down the gauntlet to the Express Companies He merited the displeasure of the

(*) Mailable matter in the United States is divided into four classes, as set down in Section 7 of the Act of March 3 1879, First Supp R S. U S page 246, which provides

"That mailable matter shall be divided into four classes (1) written matter; (2) periodical publications; (3) miscellaneous printed matter; (4) merchandise."

Trust unwittingly. This scheme that did such grave damage to the Express corporations was something that was making Lewis money and this was the reason why Lewis was interested in pushing the project.

While Mr. Lewis was in the publishing business, he found that his subscribers were constantly sending him money, with no other instructions but to "keep it." At one time he had as much as Rs. 7,50,000, invested with him, all this money being sent to him *personally and without any solicitation whatever from him.* The psychological reason for this state of affairs is easily explained.

In all the large civilized countries of the world, there are Postal Savings Banks, to accommodate the average man and woman who has, comparatively speaking, small savings. It is instructive to take a glance through the statistics of the deposits in the Postal Savings Banks of some of the leading countries.*

POSTAL BANKS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.†

	Rs.	Rs.
IN ENGLAND		
Deposits 1904		2 16,04,57,888
Deposits 1907		2 80,00,00,000
Average account 1904		232 86
Individual accounts	96,75,717	
IN FRANCE		
Deposits		74 01,11,178
Average account		161 70
Individual accounts	45,77,159	
IN JAPAN		
Deposits		10,11,69,[illegible]
Average account		15 18
Individual account	66,08,758	
IN CANADA		
Deposits (1906)		13 72,06,467
Average account		831 78
Individual account	1,64,942	

The people of the United States would invest their money in the Postal Savings Banks if there were any such institutions, for the American has money.§ A prominent British commercial agent says in a late report on the situation in the United States: "The farmers who a few years ago owed money now own money and have an assured outlet for their products, as there is no over-supply." The farmers have paid off their mortgages and have accumulated a surplus. This surplus is in cash generally, cold cash hidden away and not kept warm by circulation. Three thousand rupees in currency, withdrawn from circulation in this way by one farmer, represents the average per capita circulation

* Let the Indian reader compare the similar savings of his countrymen and realize where his country stands in respect of material wealth, in the scale of nations. S. N. S.

† Figures extracted from the latest report of the United States Postmaster General.

‡ The expense of operation and care of the postal savings of Canada is Rs. 90,000 per annum, the deposits being about Rs 15,00,00,000. What bank doing business over the counter could handle these small accounts at twenty times this expense? In fact, they could not be handled at all except by mail. Since the Canadian Postal Bank has been in operation it has received and paid out Rs. 1 39,50,00,000, with a total loss of of Rs. 75,000 from embezzlement, loss in mail, etc. In every case of embezzlement, the theft was traced.

§ Since this article was written, a new law establishing postal savings has been enacted in the United States.

of thirty-one other people, who are thus made to suffer for lack of the necessary medium of exchange The seriousness of this condition can best be realized by imagining the result if all the circulating medium was suddenly withdrawn the result would be chaos. This chaos would come if less than 3,000,000 people should each withdraw Rs 3 000 from circulation Postmaster General Meyer of the United States stated before the Senate Committee on Postal Banks Report 525 United States Senate page 130 April 17, 1908) that two thirds of the total currency approximately 6 00 00 00 000 was in hiding withdrawn from circulation

"In 1907 the amount of currency in the United States was about Rs 9,00, 00, 00,000, of this but Rs 3,00,24 00,000 was in the banks and the United States Treasury leaving Rs 6 00 00 00 000 unaccounted for During 1907, in four months Rs 90,00 00 000 was withdrawn from the banks and went into hiding

This state of affairs is due to the fact that there are not only no Postal Savings Banks but banking facilities in Western and Southern United States—probably the most prosperous portions of the country are extremely poor A few statistics will prove startling Out of a total population of 86,000,000 over 55 000 000 live in the rural districts and in towns of less than 3,000 population Out of 69 000 cities towns and villages approximately but 12 000 have banks or any banking facilities Sixty per cent of the Post Offices in the United States do not issue money orders Sixty per cent of the savings of the nation are deposited in the Savings Banks in New York Massachusetts and Connecticut Chicago with two third of New York population with over half as many industrial employees and over half as great annual wage distribution as New York has only one eighth its savings deposits In all the South and between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast except for the savings deposits are practically nothing yet this territory—the great central west—is the richest empire on earth in its wealth producing natural resources In this great empire the farmer has the money but he has practically no banking facilities adapted to his needs therefore he is his own bank In the South the average distance from the Post Office to the nearest bank is 35 miles and in the West 55 miles Naturally the farmers from the South and West sent Mr Lewis money to keep for them and at one time it amounted to Rs 7 50,000

Now what was Mr Lewis to do with this money He organized a bank that would do business by mail a Mail Order Bank He called this bank "The People's Mail Order Bank The money was to be sent to this bank by mail, a special device was designed for this purpose so that paper money and even currency could be sent without danger of loss in the mails This money could be invested as a "time deposit —to draw interest for a stated term of months or years—and it could not be withdrawn before the expiration of that period or the depositor could secure a certificate from the bank stating that their money had been deposited with it and cash this certificate at will The certificate was payable at five of the largest banks in the United States, in Chicago, New York City San Francisco, New Orleans and Seattle, so situated in various parts of the country that the *depositor could exchange the certificate at par, in any part of the land* This certificate was called a "certified check" and was only Rs 30 in value It was so arranged that the depositor could

make it payable to any one in any city or town in the United States. Thus the man with these "certified checks" not only had his money invested in a safe bank, but he could send money anywhere in America without paying a pie as a money order fee. The "certified check" meant loss to the Express Company, and Mr. Lewis had to pay—pay dearly—for encroaching upon the preserves of the Express Trust.

The first information that Mr. Lewis had that he had hit the Express Trust King in the tender region of the pocket-book came to him in the form of 4 Post Office Inspectors who visited him, and, sitting in his executive office, demanded, Gabriel-like, to make an investigation of his bank

"Why do you which to investigate my bank?" these men were asked by Mr. Lewis. "Some people have lodged complaints with the Post Office that your bank has cheated them, Mr Lewis was told

"Who?" asked Mr. Lewis.

"That is the department's business. We can't tell you the name and address of the complainants, nor specify to you the charges," Mr. Lewis was coolly informed by the authority-flaunting supercilious officials

Mr. Lewis was doing nothing underhanded. He has two guiding principles. The first is: "get the best at any cost"; the second "always deal the cards on the table." He had nothing to hide from the Post Office Inspectors. He afforded them every facility for investigation. These men investigated the bank for months.* The annoyance of such a proceeding is apparent and it is easy to imagine what a stigma it must have cast on the bank. When the Postal officials were through with their investigation, they were asked to let Mr. Lewis see the report they had made to the Postmaster-General, so that he would be prepared to make his replies to the allegations with which he was charged and rectify any irregularities which he might have unwittingly committed. "This could not be done. The report was confidential", Mr. Lewis learned. He never got to see the report, even when he was summoned to appear before the Assistant Attorney General, charged with conducting a fraudulent business Strange to say, however, within two days from the time the report was submitted to the Postmaster General by the Inspectors, what purported to be the text of it was published, covering two pages of a St. Louis daily paper. The effect was crushing so far as his bank business was concerned. The Assistant Attorney-General conducted an *ex-parte* trial, as a result of which the United States Postal Department deprived the bank and its officials of the *privilege* of receiving any mail matter through the United States Mails. No American citizen or foreigner who pays for the mail service can claim it as a *right*. Anomalous as it may sound, it nevertheless is true that the postal service is extended to the citizens of the country of the rising democracy as a privilge, of course they are expected to pay for this privilege in the shape of postage stamps, money order fees, box rents, etc., etc.

Since receiving mail was a mere privilege and not a right, Mr. Lewis could not take the matter into court. The only possible thing was to shut up the Mail Order Bank. To the credit of Mr. Lewis be it said that every depositor

* There is a law that gives the United States Post Office authorities the power to carry on such investigations.

of the bank received every pie that he had in it and the stockholders received 87 per cent. of what they had put in the bank—for the balance, 13 per cent. Mr. Lewis assumed personal responsibility. The vast amount of money that he returned he could have kept himself, since there is no law on the United States Statute Book that could force him to refund this money, but his native honesty would not permit him to let one single person suffer through his business failure.

Not only were the doors of the bank closed and Mr Lewis obliged to forego the privilege of receiving mail; but enquiry after enquiry was made into the affairs of his publishing enterprises. As a result of these enquiries, Mr. Lewis' publications, with a circulation of over a million a month, were debarred from being sent through the mails at the usual publisher's rate. For whatever magazines and newspapers he issued, he had to pay four times the postage that other publishers paid. This made the rate practically prohibitive, and the result of it all was that Mr. Lewis was forced to suspend the publication of his magazines, as he could not afford to pay the heavy postage which the Government demanded.

The wrecking of his publications was deliberately brought about. It was necessary to the perfect working of the plans of the Trust that had brought all the trouble upon his shoulders. Through the columns of his magazines, Mr. Lewis had come in close and intimate touch with millions of people throughout the United States. He had advertised the Mail Order Bank through this medium, and after that was attacked, he delivered broadsides, month after month, uncovering the nefarious work that was being done by the United States Postal authorities in league with the Express Trust to crush him. If he was permitted to tell his own side of the story, month after month, the public would become aroused at the iniquitous treatment that was being accorded him. It was necessary, therefore, to muzzle his presses. As a result of this treatment at the hands of the Post Office, Mr. Lewis suffered a tremendous financial loss.

Not contended with all this harassment, the zealous Postal officials charged the man with criminally defrauding the Post Office of Postage, basing the charges on the allegation that he had sent more sample copies of his magazines through the mail at regular publisher's rates than the law permitted. This new difficulty proved to be Mr. Lewis' saviour in disguise. He went before a jury of 12 of his peers, who adjudged him innocent of the charges levelled at him. The Post Office fought hard: but lost the case. To-day Mr. Lewis is receiving his mail as does the average citizen of the United States. His publications are sent out to the subscribers at the same rates accorded other publishers. His Mail Order Bank is once more doing a flourishing business. Mr Lewis has lost considerable money, spent years, in the intensest agony and suspense, but to-day he is one of the very few Americans who can point with a justifiable pride to the fact that he fought one of the most powerful trusts which was using the United State Government Post Office a tool—and won ? *

*Since this article was written a bill has been introduced in the United States Congress providing for the payment of Rs. 15,00,000, as compensation for the loss Mr. E. G. Lewis suffered through the temporary wrecking of his business enterprises by the Post Office Department. It is too early to predict whether or not this bill will succeed in passing.

THE RELATION OF MORALITY TO RELIGION.

By Mr. S. Radhakrishnan, M. A.

THE question whether religion is the source and mainstay of morality or whether morality has an existence independent of theological creeds is one of those problems which has engaged the attention of both moralists and theologians for ages past though there has yet been no satisfactory solution. The theologians contend with vehemence, all their own, that morality would dwindle into nothing if religion is removed. A general dissolution of ethical obligations is sure to result if the belief in God is destroyed. The moralists while admitting the important and beneficial influence of religion upon morality insist upon the fact that the two occupy different departments of life and totally deny that religion is speculatively necessary for a complete and self consistent ethical creed. It is plain to the man in the street that morality is nothing more than, to speak roughly, the actual opinion of his neighbours. The theologians bring in their support the incontrovertible fact that in the history of civilization morality and religion have been so closely intertwined that to separate them now is to attempt an impossibility. The moralists draw our attention to the fact that moral consciousness as such involves no immediate reference to any religious belief. A man's consciousness of the moral value residing in good will does not include, as a matter of fact, any recognition of duty as the will of God, or, any hope of happiness or fear of misery in another life as the result of duty observed or violated in this life. The difficulty of the problem is aggravated by the fact that there is action and reaction between the two now from the side of religion to morality and now from the side of morality to religion. Let us here therefore bring to a focus the several points bearing on this question, in a way that would enable us to see the whole in a true perspective; for in such widespread discussions one is apt to lose the wood for the trees.

In discussing the relation subsisting between morality and religion we do not intend investigating the historical connection between particular codes of morality and the various systems of religion with which they have been contemporary. We here inquire how the relation of ethics to religion must be conceived by one who seeks to subject the phenomena of man's moral life to scienti-

fic treatment. Let us now turn to some fundamental points in the growth of religion and morality which must govern our view of their relationship.

I.—THE STANDPOINT OF THE ORIGIN.

The word 'religion' is ambiguous and so perplexes the students. Without offering an exact definition of religion upon which it would perhaps be difficult for all to agree, it may be confidently asserted that it involves belief in a higher power or powers. Religion has its source primarily in the relations which man sustains to nature by which he is surrounded. The totality of cosmic forces in the midst of which man finds himself produce in him the idea of an infinite power. He finds himself dependent upon these cosmic forces. His awe is awakened in presence of their vastness and power. We are as motes in the sunbeam, insects of an hour enveloped with mystery, knowing neither whence we came nor whither we go, suspended as it were between heaven and earth. The human mind opens in some degree to a perception of beauty as early as to that of awe. Man's admiration is kindled by the beauty and order of nature. The existence of uniform co-existences and successions strikes the human mind; the supremacy of order over the universe is recognised. The need of the infinite to manifest itself to the grown up human intellect adequately account for all these facts. Such, roughly, are the psychological experiences which tend to make man, a religious animal.

Undoubtedly, these are clearly distinguishable from the feelings at the root of morality. Morality is concerned not with the infinite above us but with the finite round us. Morality views man in his personal and social relations. Ethics must, if it should be a science, appeal even to the hearts of the non-religious. It must deal with man *qua* man, and be universal in its application. Morality springs from human relationships in which the individual finds himself compelled to live and act. Morality has its roots in the needs, physical and mental, which other human beings can satisfy and in the sympathies which answer to those needs. Pfleiderer, no mean authority in matters religious, observes: "By the impressions made on him by nature, his reason was incited towards religion—by social life towards morality." Therefore the view that moral ideas sprang from the belief in supernatural agencies and from the feelings engendered thereby, may be ruled out of court as being incompatible with all that we know of morality at the relatively primitive stages of its development. The

study of the savage shows that the true source of morality is to be found not in any religious creed but in a blind and instinctive devotion to mere custom. The maintenance of the *status quo* is the rule of moral life. To do as his fathers did before him is the golden rule of morality. When time for reflection which sees life steadily and sees it whole arrives, a demand for a rational justification arises. The sought for rational basis of moral judgment turns out to be utilitarian in character. Men stamp with approval kinds of actions tending to the general welfare and to condemn actions such as are believed to be prejudicial to the interests of the community. Lying, theft and murder are infractions of the right of each member to enjoy the advantages of life. They lead to the deterioration of the community and ought therefore to be sternly suppressed. The moral law develops from the instinctive or the customary to the rational or the utilitarian. Plainly then though the belief of the primitive man in the supernatural is universal still it does not give rise to ethical ideals and distinctions.

II.—THE STANDPOINT OF THE GROWTH.

Religion and ethics we find in their growth act and react upon each other. We will first see how the progress of religion has been helped by moral ideas and then turn our attention to the way in which religion has influenced morality.

(*a*) Religion takes on ethical elements in its development. The conception of the deity which any religion offers, represents the ethical standard of the adherents. The attributes which are generally ascribed to the deity are mainly drawn from the prevalent ethical ideas. These several attributes have been first constructed in human relations before they have been attributed to the gods. Morality has ascended from Earth to Heaven but plainly it has not descended from Heaven to Earth. The startling paradox of Feurbach is but a truism. Instead of God creating man, man has created God. The highest excellence man knows, he projects upon the infinite spirit. The history of religion is an emphatic testimony to the fact that the ethical elements of religion are of earthly warp and woof. Those elements are the imperfect but the evergrowing ideals of what the individual ought to be. The moral qualities of the divine ideal are in fact only reflections of the highest moral culture of the community. The progress of religion is just the progress of morality. If man's moral ideas are crude, crude must also be the Gods of the times. The higher the value

of the ethical elements, the higher the value of the Gods. The lowest forms of religion are lowest because they have no ethical significance. Their God is our devil. Gods appear not as patterns of conduct or administrators of an ethical world order but as powers on which man is dependent. They are forces to be propitiated, not examples to be imitated; powers to be worshipped and not supreme authorities to be referred to in matters of conscience. With the growth in moral sentiment these natural forces which could be defied or evaded became ethical powers whom men neither could nor wished to defy. An exalted morality, it has been truely said, dissolves a corrupt theology. The qualities which men found to be the best in human life were transferred to God. God is endowed with an ethical character. He is the champion and defender of the highest values with which men have become acquainted in their lives. This, the most important transition in the history of religion, the transition from natural religion to ethical religion is due in no small degree to the growth in morality.

There is another important fact which has here to be taken note of. Every advanced religion, if it longs to have a hold on the affections of cultivated men, must appeal for its evidence to the moral consciousness of mankind. "If we love one another God dwelleth in us and His love is perfected in us. "He that doth good is of God but he that doth evil has not seen God." The meanings of these ethical terms therefore is pre-supposed. Thus then we find that religion is dependent upon morality as far as its development is concerned.

(*b*) Let us next direct our attention to the course of moral progress to find out the influence of religion upon it. In two ways has religion influenced the progress of morality, *viz.*, (i) by modifying the content of the moral code and so affecting the ethical ideal, and (ii) by providing a very powerful sanction to morality.

(i) The law of use and wont, the blind but instinctive observance of custom has been shown to be the first form of the moral law. At the stage of morality where custom is the moral standard, religion has not influenced it except in so far as it leads to a cult which is one instance of custom. The propitiation of the deity and the worship of the cult is for the savage a highly important duty. The higher ethical religions have been very useful to the progress of morality as in them the supreme object of worship is considered

to be the fullest exemplification and realisation of all that is highest most glorious and most good. This realisation of the ideal in the Divine Archetype tends to give vividness and strength to the moral ideal. The ethical ideal is then not something fluctuating but is 'eternal in the heavens.' By thus giving stability to the ideal and presenting it to the imagination in the concrete form while yet invested with the glory, grandeur and greatness of a supernatural being, religion has undoubtedly helped to raise humanity to a higher moral level.

(ii) It is in relation to the sanction that religion has afforded to ethics that its influence on ethics has been the most potent and widespread. Action motived by no other desire than the desire to fulfil the moral law for its own sake is not possible all at once. The conception of a truly moral motive for the moral life has only gradually dawned upon the mind of man. Even at the present day it is but very vaguely recognised. The reason for good conduct is sought for everywhere rather than in the intrinsic desirability of such conduct. Extra-ethical sanctions then have been necessary to form a scaffolding for the building up of that rational morality which, when completed, can stand in need of no such extraneous and alien support.

Let me here illustrate what is meant by religion providing a sanction for morality. Mr. Benjamin Kidd urges that the maintenance and development of human society depends mainly on the presence of an altruistic spirit or a spirit of devotion to the common good. But when the individual reflects he finds no rational ground for such devotion. It is not reasonable for him to seek anything else than his own private and personal happiness. Here is an opposition between the reasonable and the right. On public grounds it is necessary to appeal to an ultra-rational sanction and Mr. Kidd finds it in religion. Without some such ultra-rational sanction morality could not have developed. Men must be induced to abstain from the evil and do the good. The immediate means of doing this is by inflictions of punishments on individuals whose actions are considered reprehensible. Pleasant results must be closely associated with good conduct and painful results with evil conduct during the stages preliminary to that of a relatively perfected moralisation in which the good becomes in itself pleasurable and evil painful. Now to this wholesome and necessary discipline of the moral life, religion lends a powerful aid. Offences of which no human being is witness may draw down upon the

culprit the wrath of the angry deity. It has been truly said that there is no hiding from the divine eye. From the penalty he inflicts there is no escape; from his sentence there is no appeal. Thus we find that the influence of religion upon morality has been invaluable.

What then is the conclusion to be drawn with regard to the relation of morality to religion? Is the connection between the two an indissoluble one? Is religion an integral and permanent part of the moral structure which civilised man has so slowly built up, or is it only a temporary scaffolding which may be removed without danger to the edifice? Our brief investigation has shown that religion and morality represent two different streams of individual thought and feeling which have points of contact and interaction. The connection in the past has not been an indissoluble one. There is no reason to expect that it would be otherwise with the future. It is not even desirable that it should be so. If the existence of moral ideas be based on any theological creed, then morality must rise and fall with the increase and decrease of the acceptance of this creed. This is plainly an assumption which does not find a particle of support in psychology, ethics or anthropology. Indeed religion is a powerful sanction to morality but after all it is an extra-moral sanction. The whole course of ethical development has been towards the supplanting of non-ethical motives by ethical ones. Moral autonomy is the ideal. It is therefore beyond the shadow of a doubt that religion is not the theoretical basis of morality.

Let us now ask the other question if the moral can be complete without the religious. History proves that men can be moral without being religious. But is not the lack of piety itself a lack of morality? does not the want of religiousity amount to a diminution of the moral being? If the moral life should contain and express the whole man and if the religious element has a legitimate foundation in human nature, then moral life is not complete if it lacks the virtue of piety. If religion is rooted in the very nature of man, if it is not a passing and ephemeral state destined to disappear after a time, then morality is plainly incomplete without religion. The two circumstances that religion is rooted in human nature and that it offers a powerful sanction to morality are enough to convince the thoughtful that though religion may not be the theoretical basis of morality it is still the foundation of its efficacy.

JOB CHARNOCK'S HINDU WIFE: A RESCUED SATI.

By Mr. Hari Charan Biswas.

SUTTEE (Sati, "a good wife"), the lady who follows her husband to the funeral pyre, is supposed to be a model partner. Diodorus Siculus speaks of this institution as having had its origin among the Rajpoots in "the crime of one wife who destroyed her husband by poison." The practice of Sati had been in force for many centuries. Many hundreds of innocent lives were, brutally and unnecessarily, sacrificed every year. Many unwilling victims were obliged to be burned on their husbands' funeral pyre. A fair girl, not exceeding ten years of age, was once rescued by a body of English seamen and was conveyed to an English house. As her relatives did not take her back home, she was baptized and lived with the English in the factory at Muslipatam. Another story relates how it was arranged for a woman to be burned, about 6 miles above Hugly. Knowing that her refusal to follow her husband to the funeral pyre would be of no avail, she at first consented to do so. But when the fire burned furiously she refused to leap over it; whereupon the Brahmans tried to take hold of her; she caught hold of the first person that laid hands on her and dragged him with herself into the fire, where both of them perished in a moment. Lords Cornwallis and Wellesley tried to enforce certain measures to stop the objectionable practice. Lord Minto ordered the officials to shake off their indifference in the matter, and made it incumbent on the parties to obtain the previous permission of the local authorities before a case of *Suttee* was allowed. At last Lord William Bentinck announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th December, 1829, that "the practice of Sati, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, [is] illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts." No great commotion, however, followed the announcement. Dwarkanath Tagore and Rammohan Rai, the two great reformers of Bengal, moved strongly against the practice and rendered valuable help to Lord Bentinck, in passing the law.

Two centuries before Bentinck, JOB CHARNOCK, the founder of the "City of Palaces", felt for this brutal practice. In 1655 or 1656 he came out to India, apparently not in the Company's service, but soon obtained an engagement for five years, as a junior member of the Council of Cassimbazar. We have no information as to his family connections and early life. All that can be inferred from his name is, that he was a Lancashire man. His name appears in the first role of the new Company formed under Cromwell's Charter as a fourth member of the Council of Cassimbazar with a salary of £ 20, in

January, 1658. His memorial of 23rd January, 1664, shows that he had intended to return to England at the expiration of the stipulated period, but was willing to remain, if appointed Chief of the Patna factory. He got the appointment, and continued in it till 1680. Charnock lived at Patna for many years; and there he learned to understand the Indian ways of thought and action. By close application he acquired a perfect mastery in Persian, which was the Court language of the day, adopted native habits and customs, and had frequent admittance into the Nabab's presence. He is said to have believed in some of the local superstitions and had been in the habit of worshipping the five Saints, or the *Panch Pir*, with the sacrifice of a cock, after the manner of the people of Behar. The *Panch Pir*, as is well known, were invoked on occasions of danger, but unlike their brethern of Behar the Bengali Musalmans do not observe any special ceremony. The Musalman boatmen generally shout, when unfurling their sails, "Allah, Nabi, *Panch Pir*, rakhiya karo".

Amid the forest of the old city of Sonârgâon, which was formerly famous for the manufacture of fine muslin in the district of Dacca there may, to this day, be seen a holy shrine called the *Panch Pir*, to which the Hindus and Mahomedans resort from long distances in fulfilment of vows. Nothing has yet been ascertained, who these *Panch Pir*, are. The fact of Hindus worshipping the Mahomedans Saints testifies to the high reputation for sanctity they enjoy. When a disciple is initiated a cock is sacrificed ; and the sacrifice of the cock forms a part of the worship of *Panch Pir*. Dr. Wise tells us the story of an Englishman, in East Bengal, who was called the "Panch Piriya Shahib", the reason adduced for this being that his parents were advised by a servant to consecrate their "next child" to *Panch Pir*, as they had lost one after another. Acting up to this advice they were pleased to see that their child grew strong and healthy.

Sometime in the year 1678, Charnock, who was walking on the banks of the river, saw a beautiful, gorgeously attired YOUNG BRAHMAN WIDOW, who had scarcely seen fifteen summers, proceeding reluctantly towards the funeral pyre of her late aged husband. Smitten with the charms of the young lady, he at once ordered the guards that accompanied him, to rescue her from an untimely end and safely conducted her to his own residence. An allusion to the forcible rescue of the widow is to be found in an Epitaph on the tomb of "Pilot Townsend" in St. John's Church :—

* * * * * *

Shoulder to shouldar, Job my boy—into the crowd like a wedge ;
Out with your hangers, messmate, but do not strike with the edge,
Cries Charnock—"scatter the faggots ! double that Brahmins into two !
The tall pale widow is mine, Job—the little brown girl's for you.

* * * * *

She became his wife, lived lovingly for many years, and bore him several children, three of whom married Englishmen; the eldest Mary having espoused Charles Eyre, by whom afterwards the Charnock mausoleum was erected; Elizabeth, the widow of William Bowridge, Junior Merchant, was alive, in Calcutta, till 1753; the youngest, Catherine, married a member of the Council, Jonathan White, in her nineteenth year. Miss Blechynden, the authoress of a gossipy volume on Old Calcutta, states that Charnock's wife lived for twenty-five years, but the fact is open to controversy. Such was the influence of the young lady over her lord that instead of being herself converted to Christianity, she converted Charnock to Paganism. We have not yet been able to ascertain when and where Charnock's Hindu wife died; but it is believed that she preceded him to the grave shortly after the foundation of Calcutta, and was buried in the family vault in the burial ground subsequently known as St. John's Churchyard, where also rest the mortal remains of Old Job. He loved her dearly, and his sorrow for the loss of the lady was boundless. His wife, though a Hindu and strong enough to convert her husband into her own religion, was not, however, burnt according to Hindu rites. "The only part of Christianity that was remarkable in him, was burying her decently." He built a monument over her and used annually to sacrifice a cock at the spot on the anniversary of his wife's death.

The CHARNOCK MAUSOLEUM is a massive structure, octagonal in form, with a double dome, near the northern wall of St. John's Church. There are four slabs within. One to Joe himself; one to his youngest daughter, Mrs. White, who died in her first confinement, aged 21; a third to Mary, his eldest daughter, wife of Charles Eyre who succeeded Charnock, died four years after her father, 19th January, 1696; and the last to William Hamilton, the Surgeon. In 1894 some earth was dug to see whether there was anything in proof of his wife being buried in the same grave with her husband. Nothing of a vault was seen, but a quantity of bricks mixed with earth, from which it can be inferred, that there was originally a grave which Mr. Eyre, when burying his wife, might have destroyed. The version of MR. WILLIAM HEDGES in connection with the same fact, in his journal, under date 1st December 1682, at Dacca, is as follows—

"This morning a Gentoo, sent by Bulchand, Governor of Hugly and Cassimbazar, made complaint to me that Mr. Charnock did shamefully to the great scandal of our nation, keep Gentoo woman of his kindred which he had these 19 years; and that, if I do not cause him to turn her away, he would lament of it to the Nabab which, to avoid further scandall to our nation, with fair words I prevailed with ye poor follow to be pacified for ye present. I was further informed by this and divers other persons that when Charnock lived at Patna, upon complaint made to ye Nabab that he kept a Gentoo's wife (her husband still living or but lately died,) who was run away from her husband and stolen all his money and jewels to a great value, the said Nabab sent 12 soldiers to seize Mr. Charnock, but he scaping (or bribing ye men), they took his Vakeel and kept him 2 months in prison, ye soldiers lying all this while at ye Factory gate, till

Mr. Charnock compounded the business for Rs. 3,000 in money, 5 pieces of Broad cloth and some swordblades. Such troubles as these he had divers times at Cassimbazar, as I am credibly informed; and whenever she or Mr. Charnock dyes, ye pretence will certainly be heavy on ye Company."

Opinions differ and the version of Mr. Hedges should be accepted with care, as he was no friend of Charnock's ; Capt. Hamilton and the majority of the historians, however, are in favour of the former theory.

No portrait of Charnock's exists at the present day. It was not given him to return to England and to receive the acclamations of his countrymen. It is said that Calcutta and St. Petersburg were founded at the same time, both on insanitary sites. The founder of the latter has made a history of his own, while that of the former has none. Unlike persons of his own nationality, who have done nothing to perpetuate his name, the Indians have saved his memory from passing into oblivion. They call Barrackpore (where he is said to have a Bungalow and small bazar) Charnock, or Achanak. Much light has been thrown on some aspects of the life of the founder of Calcutta in an excellent article in a recent issue of *Bengal Past and Present*, but until the disputed questions are finally settled we have no other alternative but to accept the old hypothesis.

pass the winter. Nine days after his arrival, he was attacked with fever. Drs. Prichard and Carrick attended him. Medicine afforded him, however, only temporary relief. His fever returned with redoubled vigour, and grew into what our native physicians would call *Bigar*—the delirium was followed by a stupor from which the patient never recovered, and he breathed his last a little after 2 A. M., on the 27th September, in the presence of his foster-son Rajaram, and his two Hindu servants, by whom he had all along been enabled to preserve his caste in the form in which it was allowed to remain with him. The last scenes are so vividly described in Mr. Estlin's *Journal* that we cannot resist the temptation of quoting a portion of the entry, dated Friday, the 27th September :—

The Rajah became worse every few minutes, his breathing more rattling and impeded, his pulse imperceptible. He moved about his right arm constantly and his left a little a few hours before his death. It was a beautiful moonlight night ; on one side of the window, as Mr. Hare, Miss Kiddell, and I looked out of it, was the calm rural midnight scene ; on the other, this extraordinary man *dying*. I shall never forget the moment Miss Hare, now helpless and overcome, could not summon courage to hang over the dying Rajah, as she did while soothing or feeding him ere hope had left her, and remained sobbing in a chair near ; young Rajah* was generally holding his hand. I doubt if he knew any since morning yesterday. About half past one, to please Miss Kiddell, as life was fast ebbing from our admired friend, and nothing but watching the last breath remained for those around, I lay down on my bed with my clothes on. At half past two, Mr. Hare came into my room, and told me it was all over ; Ram Ratun was holding the Rajah's chin, kneeling by him ; Miss Hare, young Rajah, Miss Kiddell, Mr. Hare, my mother, Miss Castle, Ram Hurry, and one or two servants were there also ; his last breath had been drawn at twenty-five minutes past two A. M. During his last few moments, Ram Ratun, who is a Brahmin, on Mr. Hare desiring him to observe any custom usual among the Brahmins, said some prayers in Hindustanee. When the ladies had retired, we laid the body straight on the mattress and conversed with the Hindu servants. About half-past three or four we all left the room, some of the servants sitting up in the adjoining room......... We were all of us much in the room with the body, which had a beautiful majestic look. The event is a stunning one to us. †

Ram Mohan was buried on the 18th October in a retired spot in a shrubbery, whence on the 29th May, 1843, his remains were removed to the cemetery at Arno's Vale near Bristol, where a tomb was erected over his grave in the early part of the following

* This was Rajaram, Ram Mohan's foster-son. In England the Raja placed him under the care of the Rev. D. Davison, M. A.

† See *Last Days*, pp. 128, 129.

year by his friend Dwarka Nath Tagore,* with the following inscription :—Beneath this stone rest the remains of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. A conscientious and steadfast believer in the unity of the godhead, he consecrated his life with entire devotion to the worship of the Divine Spirit alone. To great natural talents he united a thorough mastery of many languages and early distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars of the day. His universal labours to promote the social, moral, and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatory and the rite of *suttee*, and his constant zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God, and the welfare of Man live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. This tablet records the sorrow and pride with which his memory is cherished by his descendants. † This obituary notice of the great deceased is not in any way over-colored, it represents the real state of things and portrays the Raja in true genuine colors.

Ram Mohan Ray was emphatically a great man. His talents were not only varied and brilliant, but of an eminently useful character. He possessed a sound judgment, a cultured intellect, a noble and disciplined heart. Professor Max Miller attributes to him the qualities of "uselfishness, honesty and boldness." Both intellectually and morally he would rank very high among his species. No one was more strongly impressed with the conviction, that to do good to man, ‡ was among the chiefest of earthly duties and privileges.§ The golden maxim of doing to others as you would that they should do unto you, was frequently

* Dwarka Nath, visited England in 1840 or 1841. There he lived and moved like a prince and was known as such; the "black" native was the observed of all observers and received very high honours the like of which have seldom been shown to any native of India.

† Professor Mr. Muller speaks highly of him, deeming him a prince among men. He says :—"The German name for prince is Furst, in English *First*, he who is always to the fore, he who courts the place of danger, the first place in fight, the last in flight. Such a first was Ram Mohan Roy, a true prince, a real *Rajah*, if Rajah also, like *Rex*, meant originally the steerman, the man of the helm,' vide *Biographical Essays*, pp. 30, 36.

‡ The place where lies the funeral temple of Raja Ram Mohan Roy is as one of his countrymen has beautifully expressed it, "a sacred place for Hindoo pilgrimage ;" and, as a matter of fact, it is almost universally visited by Hindu sojourners in England.

§ A Persian poet says, "The true way of serving God is to do good to man." This wise saying was often in Ram Mohan Ray's mouth.

inculcated and always acted upon by him. The exercise of benevolence was associated by him with the greatest pleasure. To relieve the pains and to add to the pleasures, real genuine pleasures of others, was considered by him as a source of purest enjoyment. Verily he was one of the greatest philanthropists and reformers,—a real Prince among men as professor Max Muller has happily described him. He was no partizan and never fluctuated for purposes of interest; and it is, therefore, difficult to understand how Baboo Dwarka Nath Tagore could have charged him with being a trimmer. Such a character would not at all become him, high and noble-minded as he was. In sooth he was far above ordinary humanity and is fully entitled to a very high place in that fairest of all temples, namely the Temple of Fame. We cannot better conclude this short sketch of the great man's character than by quoting some lines from one of the many sonnets written at Bristol on the occasion of his death. The appreciative poet says:

"..................Thy mortal frame
  With us is laid in holy silent rest
Thy spirit is immortal; and thy name
  Shall by thy countrymen be ever blest
Even from the tomb thy words with power shall rise
  Shall touch their hearts, and bear them to the skies'

DADABHAI NAOROJI : A CHARACTER SKETCH.

By M J. C. Mukerji,

IT is in the fitness of things that a short character sketch of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's bringing into relief the true greatness of him, who by common consent, is the greatest Indian of the day, should appear in the September issue of the *Hindustan Review*, just when the subject of the sketch has entered upon his eighty-sixth year. An attempt has, therefore, been madé, however imperfectly, to present in the following lines the picture of the man rather as he is than what he has achieved ; to dwell at some length on the one objective he had set in view when early in life he started to pursue it, now nearly three-quarters of a century ago ; the loyalty and devotion that characterised that pursuit : and the success that he obtained in it :—to furnish, in short, a brief answer to the question:—What is the place which the link that the time-spirit will forge with his long life and activities is to occupy in the chain that measures and marks the long and chequered story of the destiny of India ?

A little over eighty-five years ago, in an obscure village, in the Presidency of Bombay, the subject of this sketch first saw the light. His father, a priest, died when he was only four years old, and the bringing up of the orphan devolved on his mother, who discharged her duty as only a sensible and affectionate mother can. The exceptional talents of the man became manifest from the very start , and the long career which ultimately ended in being the first Indian to enter the British House of Commons, began in infancy in his village school by being made the show-boy of his class. From that time onward he topped the list almost every year, carried away prizes and exhibitions galore from school and college, and the brilliant academical career culminated fittingly by being appointed to the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in his own college when barely over 20 years of age ; this being also the first instance of an Indian being honoured with a professorial chair in an English College. His strong point was mathematics, in fact the man himself is mathematics—but of that later on.

Whatever stars might have been in the ascendant when young Naoroji was born, one of them, though not mentioned in any

book on astrology, must have governed the nativity of this child, namely, the star of reform. His long life is one long chapter of reforms,—reform in everything, reform everywhere. The late Lord Beaconsfield used to say adventures come to the adventurous. So do abuses to reformers. They also, like poets, are born, not made. The atmosphere of chronic corruption, what Carlyle calls the fermenting vat, in which humanity generally lives and moves and has its being, usually passes unnoticed by generations of unfeeling and apathetic sufferers, till some one appears on the scene, sharp of scent and strong of arm, competent to detect and determined to remove the evil. Mr. Naoroji belongs to that class. Beginning with the doing away of social and other disabilities from among his own little community of Parsees, who are barely a hundred thousand in a population of three hundred millions who inhabit India, his reforming zeal soon ripened and expanded into an all-embracing patriotism. To dilate on the various reforms which he has either initiated or helped to carry through, it is neither necessary nor practicable, as simply to name them would occupy more space than what is left to me in the remainder of this article. In the annals of contemporary India Naoroji and reform are synonymous terms.

I have said the man himself is mathematics. There is such a variety of reasons which have induced me to use this rather curious expression, and in doing it I find my justification from so many incidents of his life, and from the contemplation of so many aspects of his character, that both for the sake of my readers and myself I should like to tarry a little on this part of my subject.

The word that is oftenest used by a man generally gives the keynote to his character and thought. The favourite epithet of Shakespeare is " sweet," that of Milton " bright." That of Burke takes several forms, the chief being " great," " noble," " manly," and " liberal." With Mr. Naoroji it is " just." " Be just and fear not" is his favourite expression. This one word " just," with all its manifold significations and applications, is always present behind the back of his mind, but the mind, be it remembered, not of Mr. Naoroji the statesman or the patriot, but, curiously enough, the Professor of Mathematics at Elphinstone College, Bombay. This " justice" of mathematical precision and rigidity gives shape and form to his thoughts, moulds his actions, and colours his temperament. Its associations are also very close to his heart.

Only recently he told to a newspaper interviewer that nothing pleases him more than to be called Professor Dadabhai Naoroji, an honour which he earned about sixty years ago, and now lying buried under repeated layers of brighter honours still. This dominant factor in his composition, that he has been a Professor of Mathematics, gives evidence of its existence in a variety of ways, sometimes literally, sometimes figuratively. On it is based his whole code of politics and ethics; and those only who have followed him very closely through life, can detect its subtle operation on his conduct and judgment

Its literal manifestations would be easily recalled by those who remember his speech on his first Indian Budget day in the House of Commons. Among other things he told to the assembled senators, eager with pardonable curiosity to hear for the first time an Indian delivering himself on Imperial politics, that, though from the starving millions of India came every farthing of the expenditure of the India Office, from the Secretary of State's salary of £5,000 per annum down to the wages of the charwoman, who cleaned the rooms; and though there was no dearth of highly gifted and certainly highly paid officials ranging between these two extremes, there was not one man among them with the arithmetical knowledge of an average fourth standard Board School boy capable of working out a correct average in a simple calculation. Unfortunately it was too true. Previous to Mr. Naoroji's pointing out this serious defect, so many wrong inferences had been drawn as to the total production of India; so many Blue books have, column after column, been filled up with inaccurate figures; and so great a number of learned orations based on these misleading conclusions, have been sputtered on the floor of the House, that, had it not been for this school master being abroad, the course of British Indian politics had, in its economic aspect, which though its most important aspect, been to this day moving in a vicious groove.

The second instance that comes to mind is what is known in India as the Vehar Water-works case. More than a generation ago, when Mr. Naoroji became a Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, the municipality, which some years before had, in order to carry out these works, borrowed a considerable sum of money from Government, had been yearly paying a heavy interest for the loan. The new Councillor, soon after taking his seat on the Municipal Board, wanted to examine the accounts, and found out,

as he had suspected, that the Indian Government had up to that date taken £60,000 more in interest than what was its due. Large as the sum is to a poor Indian municipality, it is equivalent to something like ten times the figure were it a municipality in England. And yet the Account Department of the Government is represented by an Accountant General, who draws a few thousand pounds per annum for salary, with a regiment of underlings, whose pay and worth are in a proportionately descending scale. The money, of course, was forthwith refunded, and his fellow citizens reaped the benefit of his mathematical genius.

That the mathematician of the school and college had ultimately developed into the great financier and economist, busy in the larger affairs of the world, is a fact known to all who know Mr. Naoroji at all. He is a recognised authority on all questions of finance, and the fact of his being a merchant in the City for over a quarter of a century gives that value to his judgment which is justly due to a combination of the knowledge of both the theoretical and practical branches of the subject

Interesting as the foregoing is, of much greater interest is it to watch when this mathematics disappears from the surface and works underground. All the Grand Remonstrance of the Indian people against British injustice, which for half a century he has voiced by publishing and proclaiming it from the British press and platform, does not in his case necessarily proceed from the possession of any very deep political insight or statesmanlike grasp of a situation, such as has immortalised men in all ages when called upon to unravel some large and complicated affairs of men. His long protest, strenuous and passionate as it has been, is based on so slender a thing as the simple arithmetical truth that two and two do not make three. All his political activity resolves itself in its ultimate analysis to this simple root idea, that, by the Proclamation of 1858, and the Act of 1833, both the Sovereign and the people of Great Britain had bound themselves to do justice to India; to extend to her children the rights and privileges of British citizens ; and, generally, so to lead them along the many paths of progress, that, in time, they should attain to the development and be blessed with the prosperity of the Britishers themselves. But Britain has not chosen to do so. She says, on the other hand, that whatever she has done and is doing by India, is in fulfilment of her promise; but that, says Mr. Naoroji, in the face of the given pledges, is tantamount to saying, two and two make three. This is his whole

contention, the one complaint that runs through all his speeches and writings, hundreds as they are. This is the one argument that has furnished him with all the energy and strength with which in his country's cause he has fought a life-long battle; which has infused into him all the doggedness and determination with which he has repeatedly come to the charge. It is the consciousness of the certitude of this mathematical truth, which on this side of the grave being known as a truer truth than any other, that, in demanding from England justice for India, he appears with the inexorableness of a Shylock in a moral plane, demanding his full pound of flesh. All his correspondences with the various Indian Secretaries of State are nothing but variants of this monotone: It is in the bond. It is a moot point, in fact, and can be said without any disparagement to him that, whether, but for the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 English politics would have ever heard the name of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

There is an old chestnut about the Cambridge and Oxford of the days when the two Universities had the reputation of teaching exclusively science and classics, respectively. One day an Oxford man asked his friend of Cambridge, who never relished poetry, to give it a fair trial, to read "Paradise Lost," for a start, and then tell him whether he liked poetry or not. The latter read through Milton's immortal work, and then answered to his friend, "Well, so far as it goes, it is all right: but, then, what does it prove?" That man must have been a Naoroji. In the scores of speeches which he has delivered, and in his innumerable writings there is not a single quotation from any poem. What is more, in the loaded bookshelves in "Washington House," long his beautiful English home, in the piles of books arranged against the walls of almost every room, there was, strangely enough, not a single volume of poetry. Not that there is no poetry in his composition. A tenderer heart never beat within a human breast, only the correctly logical head which insists on the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, refuses to be satisfied at anything less then a demonstrative proof.

Next to this uncompromising love for truth, the most valuable gift that he has brought to the service of his country is his amazing devotion to duty. To him it presents itself with the sanctity and binding force of religion. If one might paraphrase the proud boast of Imperial Cæsar that.

> " . . . danger knows full well
> That Cæsar is more dangerous than he."

it would be no reflection on Mr. Naoroji's modesty, or committing any outrage on truth to say that

. . duty knows full well
That Naoroji is more dutiful than he.

There are many Indians now who are doing all that they can for their country. Yet it can be boldly affirmed without any fear of contradiction that no one has brought, or is capable of bringing to the altar of his patriotism a more unflinching courage, or a more indomitable spirit; a more untiring industry, or a more unerring judgment. Naturally gifted with an almost perfect health, and a superb intellect, he has through a long life zealously nurtured and husbanded his natural resources with the jealous care of a miser. He is a life-long teetotaller and non-smoker; a lover of fresh air, which he would rather go without his food than miss; and strictly temperate in what he eats and drinks. He has a virility and vitality all his own. He had a severe attack of pneumonia when seventy-five years old, and on his recovery the doctors remarked that a young man of 20 could not have shaken off the disease so easily. I asked his private secretary, who had been with him for some fourteen years, whether Mr. Naoroji took his annual holiday; "I don't think he has been away for fourteen days in the last fourteen years," replied he; "I am sure he hasn't."

He never meets trouble half-way. When on the morning of Waterloo, the officer who was second in command came and remonstrated with the Iron Duke that he had not told them the plan of the day's battle; should any accident befall him in the morning, how were they going to fight during the rest of the day. Wellington replied that Napoleon did not tell him where and how he was going to attack him. "Wait till it comes," is one of Mr. Naoroji's mottos, too.

In his thoroughness he can give points to a Wentworth. At Lambeth, where he fought his last Parliamentary election, his Election Agent told me that he personally canvassed every one of the nearly 6,000 voters of the constituency. Can this be said of any Parliamentarian since the days of Simon de Montfort? With his canvass book in his hand, an electric light hanging down from his neck to enable him to write in the dark, this old man of 80, tottering on his legs, defying the rigours of English weather, had gone on, summer and winter, for four long years, knocking at the door of every voter, bespeaking his suffrage. And all this for his

India. It would be difficult to produce another instance of such a conscientious worker, or one who has so cheerfully obeyed the dictates of that conscience under such well-nigh impossible circumstances.

Another instance of his thoroughness comes to mind—but I must be brief. When he was in Parliament, he caused the Government of the day to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate into the economic condition of Indian Parenthetically it may be remarked that Mr. Naoroji, who has always been first in whatever his name is associated with, is also the first Indian who ever sat on a Royal Commission. For the complete elucidation of the case, he as a member, of course, cross-examined the scores of witnesses who were summoned before the Commission, till at length, not satisfied even with that, he proposed to change the bench for the witness-box to give his own evidence, and to submit himself to cross-examination. His own evidence extends over a volume.

Devotion so great is unique. Reason calculates : Love says, "I could not help it." The tragically personal instance by which he exemplified this great truth is also the last great political act of his life. In December 1906 he went out to India as the President of the Indian National Congress, being the recipient of this honour for the third time—a distinction, also, hitherto unprecedented. The internal differences among the representative men of India about the policy and procedure of the Congress had assumed such dimensions, that the Congress itself, then twenty-two years old, was threatened with destruction. At this crisis all India with one accord turned to the old pilot and asked him to come and save the ship, such is his country-men's love and confidence in him. He went, he steered the vessel out of all danger, voiced the nation's demand by demanding self-government for India, and came back to England by almost the return boat. He finished his work, and with it well-nigh finished himself also. The physical exertion alone entailed in the work, which would have knocked down a young subaltern of twenty-five made a complete wreck of this old man of eighty-one. But he taught his countrymen, nay, mankind at large, the great lesson that he who must find life must lose life. If India succeeds in working out her salvation as some day she will, it will be due entirely to this man. He it is who has first told to his countrymen the story of the real condition of India and he it is also who in his great last utterance has proclaim-

ed that the one remedy for all their suffering, the open sesame to successful British policy in India, is in self-government on Colonial lines. Co-ordination, if you like, but not subordination. And the time-spirit in the meantime is busy with its eternal work of maturing this seed.

Space would not allow me to dwell on the many-sided excellence of this truly heroic character which derives all its grace from its strength. Yet I feel that it would be tantamount to committing something like sin if I did not linger a little on the personal character of Mr. Naoroji. He is gentleness itself. No one would be able to detect a single unkind word, not even the mildest sarcasm in all his speeches and writings, though the provocation has been great. The vow which all Parsees take in early life to be pure in thought, pure in word, pure in deed, he has fulfilled to the uttermost extent possible, and this becomes never more manifest than in the refined and cultured atmosphere about him, which is very perceptible when one is thrown into it from the dirt and din of every day life. Anthony's estimate of Brutus,

> His life was gentle and the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up.
> And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

would not apply more truthfully to any living Indian than to him.

A few years ago he left England for his native land to take his well-earned rest in the evening of his life, and to enjoy

> . that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends.

When he shall be called away from the scene of his earthly labour—and may that day be far and far away, if the Muse of History be invoked to write his epitaph, she would do it in a few simple words " Here lies Dadabhai Naoroji, the Indian."

THE

Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on " The Critical Faculty."*

TULSI DAS AND SHAIKH SADI.

By Mr. Muhabbat Singh, B. A.

GOSWAMI TULSI DAS of Rajapur (Banda) and Shaikh Sadi of Shiraz have been two renowned poets whose memory will not leave men's minds so long as Hindi and Persian literatures are extensively read and the thoughts and ideas of the best authors unsatiatingly imbibed by their admirers. Both of our poets are in the van in their respective fields of poetic art. As the works of both of them are largely read in the present age not only in their native countries but even in distant climes and translated into a multiple of languages so as to put their thoughts within the easy reach of men of head and heart, the writer ventures to lay before the reading public a few points wherein these eminent personages agree and differ, to show their respective merits (and demerits if any) and finally to show how far the later author has borrowed from his predecessor.

Shaikh Sadi flourished in 14-15 century A. D., and died in the year 1435 A. D ; Tulsi Das in the 17th century and died in 1623 A. D., the latter being behind the former by two centuries. Evidently, then, Tulsi Das must have borrowed thoughts from his predecessor Shaikh Sadi. This he has done but sparingly. Nowhere has he so completely translated Sadi's verse as when he says "फूले फले न बेत जदपि सुधा बरषहिं जलद" (phulai

phalai na bet yadapi sudha barasahin jalad)—*Ramayan* ; meaning 'Baid, a kind of plant, bears neither fruits nor flowers although clouds may rain in nectar' (instead of in water.) The original and parallel in Shaikh Sadi runs thus " ابر گر آب زندگی بارد هرگز از شاخ بید بر نه خوری " (abragar ab-i-zindge barad hargiz az shakh-i-baid bar na khuri) 'If the clouds shower in nectar of life you can never eat fruits from the branch of baid.'

Both the poets equally denounce one who is a dunce, of unsound principles and of low origin. How exquisitely Tulsi Das says " मूरख हृदय न चेत जो गुरु मिलहिं बिरंचि सम " (murukh hridaya na chet jo guru milahin viranchi sama) that is, A dunce can never take to a piece of advice even if the guru (the teacher, the adviser) were Brahma (the first of the Hindu Trinity) himself. Shaikh Sadi has said long before Tulsi Das " پرتو نیکان نگیرد هرکه بنیادش بد است " (per tawe nekan nagirad har ki buniyadash badast) 'The low can never approach the semblance of the good (and the high) and تربیت نا اهل را چون گردکان بر گنبد است (tarbiyat na ahl ra chun girdgan bar gunbad ast) *i. e.*, training one destitute of the qualities that become a man (a rational being) is like placing a walnut on the dome of a tower. In other words the poets warn us not to endeavour in vain to turn a stupid block-head, one slow at learning and destitute of humanity, away from the path of ignorance and error and to lead to righteousness, virtue and magnanimity.

Again Shaikh Sadi lays down " دل بدست آور که حج اکبر است " (dil badast awar ki hajj-i-akbar ast) *i. e.*, the wining of the hearts (of men) is a grand pilgrimage to Mecca. The parallel by Tulsi Das is " वशीकरण यह मंत्र है कि तजि दे बचन कठोर " (vashi karan yah mantra hai ki taji de vachan kathor); the amulet to win (the hearts of men) is to avoid the utterance of harsh words.

There are many other points of resemblance between the two popular poets which the writer does not intend to show for fear of lengthening the short article which is not meant to aspire higher than depicting the authors in a few points wherein they resemble and differ from each other. Let us now take the points of divergence. The first and foremost idea that strikes us when looked at from that point is in favour of Tulsi Das. We cannot but admit that Tulsi Das has far excelled his predecessor in showing sobriety, self-restraint in matters of self-praise whereas Shaikh Sadi is ebullient and egoistic over the success of his masterpiece. To do justice to Tulsi Das one must say that he has shown great wisdom, humility and sobriety when in his unique and unparalleled work, the *Ramayan*, he says " कबि न होउँ नहिं चतुर कहावउँ मति अनुरूप राम गुन गावउँ " (kabi nahohun nahin chatur kahaun mate anurup Ramaguna gaun) meaning 'I am neither a poet nor am I a shrewd person (*i. e.*, possessed of acute judgment) how-

ever I simply narrate the (heroic) acts and doings of Rama according to my capacity' (he does not use the word ability.) What a fine contrast do we find in the lines of Shaikh Sadi where he says :—

شاعرن بسیار گفتند شعرهاے پر نمک * کس نگفتہ شعر همچون س ع د ی

(Shairan bisyar gufta sherhaye pur namak—kas nagufta sher hamchun *sin ain dal ye*) that is 'poets (in the past) have said (composed) many lines full of salt (attractive and thrilling), (but) none (of them) could say a line as *sin*, *ain*, *dal* and *ye* (has said.) The italicised are four letters of the Persian alphabet which together make the word 'Sadi.'

It is admitted by no less an authority than poets themselves that a poet always thinks highly of his lines *e. g.* *Tulsi Das when he says :— " निज कबित केहिं लाग न नीका " (nij kabita kehin lag na nika) 'who is he who does not show predilection towards his own line's and

Sir Walter Scott when he asserts

" For ne'er
Was flattery lost on poet's ear"

And also when he makes his bard resent at his harp being ranked

" So high
Above his flowing poesy ;"
Scott's, thy lay of the Last Minstrel.

But then he should on no account be proud of his lines to the extent of assertion of self-importance, refinement, beauty, sweetness, melodiousness and above all excellence of his work.

In the beginning of the *Ramıyan* Tulsi Das while invoking gods to his assistance does not neglect to ask the learned and the wise amongst men to rectify all the errors that may have crept into his work and which he himself (because of his shallow and limited knowledge—as he says) may not have been able to detect. In justice to him let it be said that although he is publicly known to have been only a translator from Valmiki yet there is so much of originality in Tulsi Das's book, so much new matter added, so much left from Valmiki's book and even the same incidents so differently and variedly narrated that a reader cannot but admit that all the credit must be his for his independent work, a work of great calibre of mind, a genius.

The art of alliteration was unknown to Sadi. Nowhere in his books do we find alliteration which may be called as such. On the other hand Tulsi Das seems to have had a special liking for the art. Numerous quotations can be easily cited from his book to illustrate his taste for it.

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*Let it be said in defence of Shaikh Sadi that it is not only he who has erred in respect of self-praise. For does it not smack of it in the lines of Milton when we find him alive to the consciousness of self-importance while talking of his Paradise Lost he says in the opening lines of Book I :—

" Unattempted yet in prose or rhyme ?" Is not self-consciousness well manifested and arrogance unduly represented ?

To give only a few let the reader judge him in the lines given below :— "काम कोह कलिमल करिगन के केहरि सावक जन मन बन के" (*kam, koh, kalimal, karigan ke kehari* shawak jan man ban ke) that is a recollection and utterance of Sri Rāma's name and his doings work like a lion (*kehari* shawak) in springing upon elephants (*karigan*) such as Lust or Cupid (*kam*), anger (*koh*) and the evils of the Iron age (*kalimal*) that may be roaming about in the jungle (ban) of the man's (jan) mind (man.) Again in "भव भंजनि भ्रम भेक भुअंगिनि etc" (*bhava bhanjani bhram bhek bhuwangini*) *i. e.*, the repetition of Sri Rama's name and the pondering over his virtuous and heroic deeds (in the preceding lines not quoted) serve as a separator from this mundane atmosphere (*bhava bhanjani*) and work as a snake (*bhuwangini*) in destroying the frogs (*bhek*) of hallucinations (bhram.)*

Shaikh Sadi's *Bostan* and *Gulistan* are embodiments of *hikayats* or short pithy stories. No doubt they are full of sound pieces of advice to the young as well as to the old. They are well calculated to show the original and inventive genius of Shaikh Sadi of Shiraz of whom the writer is second to none as an admirer. But it will be nothing short of invidiousness to compare him with Tulsi Das in the matter of connected stories. In this respect Tulsi Das's superiority is well established over Shaikh Sadi. His *Ramayana* is not a disconnected story divided into numerous *hikayats* or epigrams. On the contrary many stories and sayings are interposed into the body of the main narrative in a way not to break the thread which is uninterrupted from beginning to end.

Both the poets are intolerant towards an alien religion and would not permit derogation from their respective religions. Both have directly and indirectly attacked dissenters from their schools. Let the reader, to get convinced, read passages from Shaikh Sadi's book where he talks disparagingly of people of *zunnar* (with sacred thread—*i. e.*, Brahmans) and the idols they worship and Tulsi Das when he would not excuse a person talking ill of "Hari Har" (Vishnu and Siva) and would not be content till the tongue that uttered words ill of them were removed from its place and thus incapacitated from repeating the same provided it lay in his power so do so, if not he should cover the openings of the ears with the palms of his hands and quit the place.

* The following are additional examples of Tulsi Das's love for alliterations.

(*a*) "मैं पुनि पुत्रबधू प्रिय पाई" main (1) *puni* (moreover) *putra badhu* (daughter-in-law) *priya* (lovable) *payee* (got)

(*b*) "बनहित कोल किरात किसोरी"—banhit (for forest) *kol* (*kol*—a caste of aborgines that is found especially in the Vindya Hills) *kirat* (another similar caste) *kishori* (daughters)—have been created.

(*c*) "जनकसुता जग जननि जानकी" *janak suta* (daughter of janak) *jag* (world *janani* (mother) *janaki* (janak's daughter.)

(*d*) "सेवक स्वामि सखा सिय पी के" *sewak swami sakha siya* pee ke.)

(*e*) "सुधा सुरा सम साधु असाधू" (*sudha sura sama sadhu* asadhu.)

(*f*) "अकथ अगाधि अनादि अनूपा" (*akath agadhi, anadi anupa.*)

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

THE LATE PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH: A STUDY.

By Mr. E. J. Hathaway.

The death of Prof. Goldwin Smith, at the advanced age of eighty-seven, marks the passing of one who has been an outstanding figure in literary and journalistic work for more than sixty years. The death of his wife early in 1909 was followed, a few months later, by the announcement of his retirement from active journalism. Early in the present year a fall in his own home resulted in the breaking of one of his thigh bones, and although for a time he seemed to pick up, the shock was too much for the nervous system of one of his years.

A brilliant essayist, and a keen and searching controversialist of wide knowledge and authority, Dr. Goldwin Smith has exercised an important influence on political and social movements both in Great Britain and America, extending back to the middle of the last century. For more than a generation after leaving Oxford he was actively associated with the leading men in English public life; and although most of the forty years of his residence in America were spent in the semi-seclusion of his Toronto home, he not only continued in touch with the great movements of the time, but also, by means of his acute critical faculty and that authority which he had developed in the field of English public life, had some part in the shaping of these movements.

Dr. Goldwin Smith was educated at Eton and Oxford, and in his student days was looked upon as a youth of unusual intellectual qualities. He graduated in 1845, after an especially brilliant college career, taking the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse. In the year following he took the prize for the Latin essay, and in the next year that for the English essay. In the same year he was elected a fellow of the University College, London, and shortly afterwards he was called to the bar, but never practised.

Internal affairs at Oxford at this time were in an unsatisfactory condition. A resolution in the House of Commons in 1850 calling for a royal commission to inquire into the discipline, state and revenues of the university and to report as to what action might be taken by the Crown or Parliament to promote the interests of religion and learning in the colleges, met with vigorous denunciation at the hands of Mr. Gladstone and other Parliamentary leaders. It was also vigorously opposed by the heads of the colleges and by distinguished graduates.

Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, although refusing to support the resolution at the time, surprised the House shortly afterwards by announcing the appointment of the commission asked for. The reason was not far to seek. At this critical moment there appeared in the columns of the London *Times* a series of brilliant letters in support of the

claim for a commission which stated the case so effectively as to convince the wavering Premier. These letters, which bore the signature "Oxoniensis," were written by Goldwin Smith.

Rev. Arthur P. Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster, aud Goldwin Smith, whose letters had practically forced the issue, were named as secretaries of the commission. Their report was published in 1852. The interest aroused over the question was intense, and voluminous as it was, the first edition of the report was sold out in a few days. This report is said to have been one of the most remarkable documents of the time. Its literary form and much of its substance were the work of the secretaries, and Goldwin Smith himself contributed an elaborate report on "The History of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford."

Dr. Smith was secretary to the second Oxford Commission, which later effected many alterations in the constitution, curriculum and government of the university. Mr. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and member for Oxford, had charge of the legislatiou, and in the framing of the bill he was assisted by Goldwin Smith, Professor Jowett and others.

Meanwhile Smith had been constantly writing for the newspaper and periodical press on political, literary, academic and religious topics, and on account of his literary activities and his public services on these two commissions, had forced himself into a prominent place among the journalists and public men of the day. He had now become a man to be reckoned with. As a controversialist he had proved himself a vigorous antagonist. An offer of a "safe" seat for Parliament was made to him, but he refused it in favour of a journalistic career, and a journalist he ever since remained. He wrote regularly for the *Times*, the *Chronicle*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and other of the great journals, he took part in all the active political movements of the day; and he was the last survivor of the famous Manchester school of anti-corn law and free trade advocates with Cobden and John Bright.

In November, 1855, the *Saturday Review* was launched. This was one of the great events in English journalism. "The immediate motive in coming before the public," said the prospectus, "is furnished by the impetus given to periodical literature by the repeal of the Newspaper Stamp Act"; but this was probably only half the truth. The real motive seems rather to have been a desire to overthrow the monopoly in government of the *Times*. "It is high time," declared an article in the first number, "that we began to realize the magnificent spectacle afforded by British freedom—thirty million of *Cives Romani* governed despotically by a newspaper." Associated in the enterprise were some of the most brilliant journalists and brightest intellects of the day: Douglas Cook, Beresford Hope, Sir Henry Maine, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Lord Robert Cecil (afterwards Lord Salisbury), John Morley and Goldwin Smith. This was in the early days

of the Reform Bill, and the *Saturday Review* was neither Liberal nor Conservative. Independent it claimed to be in everything, including politics. Its staff represented the very flower of English political, literary and university life, and a saying current at the time was to the effect that many things were new, true and of the highest importance, but to the writers of the *Saturday Review* nothing was new, true or of the highest importance.

In 1858 Goldwin Smith was named by the Government a member of the Popular Education Commission, and in the progress of his investigations for this important undertaking he visited every part of England, thus acquiring at first hand a knowledge of educational conditions and needs that proved of inestimable value to educational problems.

In the same year he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, a position once occupied by Dr. Thomas Arnold, and subsequently by Freeman, Stubbs and Froude.

Durding the American war he ardently championed the cause of the North, and in order to get more light on this subject he visited America in 1864. His prominence in educational and public matters won for him a cordial reception. He was fêted and welcomed everywhere and received an L.D. from Brown University. In 1868, on the occasion of his second visit, he came in contact with Andrew D. White, president of Cornell University, then recently founded for the special benefit of poor students. Mr. White invited him to join the staff. An unfortunate family bereavement at this time made the invitation welcome, and accordingly he resigned his position at Oxford and became Professor of English and Constitutional History at Cornell, a position which he held until 1871, when he removed to Canada on his marriage to the widow of the late W. H. Boulton, of Toronto.

An interesting episode occurred at this time. Mr. Gladstone, by a series of resolutions in the House of Commons, had, in 1868, brought about the defeat of the Disraeli Government, and the latter was once more at leisure to take up his work as a novelist, which he had laid aside for more than twenty years. The publication of *Lothair* is notable because it was the first novel ever written by a man who had previously been Prime Minister of Britain. It is a brilliant and vivid presentation of contemporary aristocratic life in England, and many of the characters are portraits from life. Mr. Goldwin Smith was at once identified in the character of the Oxford professor. He wrote to the author as follows :—

In your *Lothair*, you introduce an Oxford professor who is about to emigrate to America, and you describe him as a social parasite.

You well know that if you had ventured openly to accuse me of any social baseness, you would have had to answer for your words. But when sheltering yourself under the

literary forms of a work of fiction, you seek to traduce with impunity the social character of a political opponent. Your expressions can touch no man's honor—they are the stingless insults of a coward.

During nearly forty years' residence in Canada, Dr Smith was identified with every offer to promote the higher interests of the press. He was a member of the Canadian Press Association since 1875 and was vice-president in 1878. He aided financially and by his pen in the launching of many Canadian literary enterprises, among others the *Canadian Monthly*, *The Week*, *The Nation*, *The Bystander*—all unfortunately now among the wreckage of Canadian journalism—and the *Weekly Sun*, to which, until his withdrawal from active newspaper work, he for years contributed regularly each week from two to four columns of comment on questions of the day. For some years he published *The Bystander*, a monthly organ of personal editorial opinion—a magazine unique in journalistic annals, and one that, on account of the personality of its editor, was widely read and quoted.

Although never a contributor to any local newspaper, with the exception of the agricultural journal, the *Weekly Sun*, few men have written more extensively on local public issues; and his contributions to the American press, chiefly to the New York *Sun* and the *Independent*, and in England to the London *Times* and *Manchester Guardian* and the leading reviews, have been distinguished because of their brilliant literary qualities and keen critical insight.

In Canada his opinions on public affairs were always treated with the greatest respect, as was becoming in regard to one who for years was the companion and adviser of those who were most influential in shaping public affairs during an important era in England's political history. Many of his views on public questions—especially those in regard to the political destiny of Canada—were not such as to find favour with the Canadian people but his sincerity has never been questioned and his influence in upholding English political traditions on this continent has on the whole been decidedly beneficial. On the other hand, Mathew Arnold, a contemporary, and in many things an opponent, declared some years before his death that the greatest loss England had suffered during the nineteenth century was the departure of Goldwin Smith to America.

Dr. Smith's literary work, apart from journalism, was mainly along the line of historical study, with an occasional contribution to theological discussion or literary criticism. Among his best known works are *The United States: A Political History*, a small volume of but three hundred pages, but containing one of the keenest and most searching studies of the development of the American republic that has yet been written; *The United Kingdom*, a brilliant analysis of the political growth of Great Britain down to the passage of the Reform Bill; *Irish History and Irish Character*, *Canada and the Canadian Question*,

a study of the annexation question; *Three English Statesmen* dealing with Pym, Hampden and Cromwell; *Oxford and Her Colleges*, based on his work on the Oxford Commission; *Lectures on the Study of History* published while at Oxford; *Lectures and Essays*; *Rational Religion* and *Guesses at the Riddle of Existence*; *Jane Austen*, *Cowper*, and *Shaakespeare: the Man*; besides two or three small volumes of translations from the Latin and Greek poets.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

Ancient Ceylon.

Ancient Ceylon: By H. Parker. (Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1910.)

By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. (London).

THIS thick volume is, according to the half-title, 'An Account of the Aborigines and of Part of the Early Civilisation'. It is divided into three parts, the Aborigines, the Structural Works, and the Arts, Implements and Games; there are also addenda and appendices, and two hundred and seventy-five illustrations by the author.

According to Hindu mythological works, Ceylon was originally occupied by the Rakshasas under Ravana, then by the Yakkhas under Kuvera, and then again by Ravana until the defeat of the latter at the hands of Rama. According to the historical works of Ceylon the remaining Yakkhas were expelled from Ceylon on the occasion of the first (mythical) visit of Gautama Buddha to the island; the Yakkhas and Rakshasas where allowed to escape to the 'Island of Hills'. On the Buddha's supposed second visit he had to do with the Nagas of Northern Ceylon, whom he pacified and converted. His third visit was undertaken at the invitation of the Naga king Mani-Akkhika.

From the details of such accounts there can be gathered some idea of the character of the early inhabitants, or at least of Indian and early traditional opinions about them. As regards the Rakshasas we find no further mention of them as inhabitants of Ceylon; the Nagas (whom Mr. Parker suggests to be related to the Nayars of Malayalam, and to represent early, pre-Vijayan Indian settlers) are likewise unmentioned in the subsequent annals. More detailed accounts are given by the early writers concerning the Yakkhas, with whom Vijaya and the first Gangetic settlers had much to do. The Yakkhas were probably in a general sense the aborigines. "It is the general consensus of opinion", says Mr. Parker, "that they are now represented by the Vaeddas, the hunting and fishing tribe who at one time occupied all the central forests as well as the southern coasts". Mr. Nevill's derivation of Yakkha from Iyaka, 'arrow-persons' is not very convincing; but there are more general and better reasons

identifying the two races. The Vaeddas or Yakkhas are analogous to and have probably affinities with the hill men of Southern India.

Immigration from the Ganges valley seems to have ceased from the time of Pandukabhaya, and

His policy of admitting the natives to an equality with the Indian settlers must have caused a rapid fusion of the two races. This was the birth of the Sinhalese nation. . . . . In the same manner as in England in Norman times or after the Roman domination, the natives in the lapse of years totally absorbed the new-comers, and a very slight admixture of Tamil blood at last produced the race which we now find in the Kandian provinces . . . That the Kandian Sinhalese are thus the modern representatives of the great bulk of the ancient Vaeddas is, I venture to think, beyond doubt. The people who were so numerous throughout the country (even) in the twelfth century, that in half the island 'many thousands could be enlisted as soldiers, have certainly not been exterminated. They, like the Vaeddas of preceding centuries, have simply settled down as Kandian villagers. An insignificant number still retain their ancient designation, but even these, with the exception of a ew families, have become ordinary Sinhalese, and in outward appearance are indistinguishable from many other Kandians.

Many interesting and valuable details from the author's own experience are given in a long chapter on the Modern Vaeddas, the 'few families' above referred to who still lead the forest life

With a lifetime's experience and hereditary perceptive faculties to assist them, the secrets of the deepest forest appear to them as an open book which they read as they pass. They hear sounds and see objects that to a person whose perception is dulled by civilisation might as well be altogether absent, so far as his power of observation is concerned. Their trained ears detect the footfall of the wild forest animals walking through the jungle at considerable distances away, and can distinguish the species by means of the sound, which is quite inaudible to ordinary observers. The way in which these jungle-dwellers recuperate after extremely severe injuries is sometimes surprising. I have known a Kandian recover under home treatment by a village practitioner or 'Vedarala' when his thigh was half cut through in the middle and the bone exposed, by his falling backwards across a razor-edged piece of newly-blasted granite.

Fortunately for them, they are not exposed to the temptation of drinking alcoholic liquor, and probably not one of them knows the taste of it. Crime is practically non-existent among them all.

A 'Mission' established a few years ago to 'rescue' and civilise these people was, like previous attempts, a failure...Probably it was through the introduction of irrigation and rice-cultivation that the ancient Vaeddas were converted into the Sinhalese of the present day. It was certainly not by means of well-meant but ineffective 'Missions'... We can see the very same advance in civilisation taking place among the Vaeddas of the present day. Some who live near the recently constructed irrigation works, have voluntarily adopted rice-cultivation, and of their own accord have planted cocoanuts and other fruit-trees about their house.

A full account is given of the religion of the Vaeddas, who are not Buddhists; their religious ideas correspond with those of the Kandian Sinhalese, exclusive of Buddhism. Almost all the deities of the Vaeddas are recognised by the Kandians or by the Low-country Sinhalese.

The point of particular interest is the supreme position assigned to the god of the Rock (Gale Deviya), or Hills, as a beneficent deity. Nominally at least he does not hold this rank among the north western Kandians, who term him merely one of the most powerfull of the demons, and one who does not often trouble himself with the affairs of men, although as a matter of fact they often appeal to him for assistance in case of the outbreak of epidemics or great want of rain. He is quite unknown to the Sinhalese of the western coast. I think there can be no doubt that he is the Hill god of the wild tribes of the South Indian Hills.

This Hill god is in fact the pre-Aryan, Daemon whose identity is merged and survives in that of the later Siva.* It is interesting to find that his Sakti, a goddess known as Indigollaewa Kiri Amma is identified with Mohini, and this is perhaps connected with the worship of their son Ayiyanar in Ceylon This would be a later addition to the original Hill god cult It may also be noted that a trace of this Hill god (as has also been suggested for India,) perhaps survives in the cult of Avalokitesvara as a mountain god, which from a Mahayana Buddhist bronze image found in Ceylon we know to have existed there.†

A special chapter is devoted to the 'Primitive Deity of Ceylon,' the Hill god already mentioned. Perhaps the most interesting element in his cult, and one which further associates him with later conceptions of Siva is his worship by dancing The dancer holds in his hand an arrow, and becomes possessed by the god, after which all that he says or does is

This is on the plain ,
regarded as the action or speech of the deity himself

But the special place for such dances to the god of the Rock, for the Vaeddas particularly, and also for the Sinhalese who live near them, is on the summit of precipitous crags on or near the top of certain hills of the district, on which this form of worship has been performed from ancient times On these they would dance once a year to ensure the general prosperity of the district. The Officiator, the Deviyanne Kapuwa, is accompanied in the Vaedda ceremony by any two men as assistants, who alone climb up unto the rock with him Among the neighbouring Sinhalese the assistants are the washerman who washes the Kapuwa's clothes, and the smith who made the god's emblem ; the former stays at the foot of the crag, the latter alone goes with the dancer to the summit . The dancer carries up the symbol of the god, which is not an arrow as one would expect, but a short handled bill hook the dance . . . takes place on a high precipitous projecting crag near the top of a prominent hill, or on the summit of the hill if it is a single bare rock. . . The months in which the dance is performed are two in which the full force of the south west monsoon is felt in this district, and the work of the dancing priest is thus on some occasions excessively dangerous on such exposed sites, a few of which can be reached only by means of ladders. In one instance, at Aragama Kanda it is stated that the dancer was blown clean away and never seen again ; and that any dancer escapes unhurt is attributed to the protection afforded by the god.

The whole service is considered to be in honour of gods, and not to be a demon ceremony. In all ordinary services for demons, meat in some form, or blood,

* Who is still pre-eminently a dancer and mountain-god.

†Mahayana Buddhist Images from Ceylon and Java, J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 287.

is a necessary part of the food. It is clear that the Gale Deviya's as a beneficent deity is alone kept in view in these proceedings.

Mr. Parker is probably right in concluding that "we have here the worship of the original deity of Celyon, dating from pre-Buddhist times" and that

"the god of the Rock is a form of the original Rudra, who was developed at a later date into the great deity Siva," also in saying that "When Rudra developed into Siva, the northern form of the Hill Mother, Parvati, supplanted this southern deity (i e, the Kiri Amma, identified with Mohini) as the wife of the Hill god in Hinduism"

He also identifies Ayiyanar with Skanda, and Bilinda perhaps with Ganesa

A valuable and detailed account of the ancient and especially the lost cities is then given, and of the ancient structural works such as the Buddhist Dagabas for which Ceylon is famous The account of these is careful and detailed Great pains have been taken in preparing tables of measurements of bricks of various dates, and in using the data so obtained to check or corroborate other observations In quoting certain canons of measurement from the Waiddyanta Pota, Mr Parker remarks that as they make mention of the height of the *chitta*, the book "appears to have been written not much later than 500 A D, since the histories contain no references to these terminals after the fifth century" This is interesting as supporting a suggestion I have elsewhere made on other grounds, that the Silpa Sastras, generally speaking, date from somewhere about the fifth century

In the section on 'The earliest Irrigation works", Mr Parker is most thoroughly at home, as he was himself an official in the Irrigation Department of the Government of Ceylon.

The special feature of the ancient civilisation was its irrigation works, which with the exception of part of the mountain district were made throughout the whole country. Two systems of irrigation were in use the construction of reservoirs, and the making of irrigation channels from rivers. The latter method is probably the oldest, and of Indian origin, while inasmuch as in India only shallow village tanks can usually be made on the flat plains, the formation of the great reservoirs was originally due to the constructive genius of the Sinhalese themselves

Mr Parker speaks in the highest terms of the engineering capacities of the tank builders At Panda waena, where the embankment is I (?) miles long and 22 feet high, the reservoir remained in working order till the 12th century.

Although the size of this reservoir was surpassed by other pre Christian ones, and left far behind by many post-Christian works, we cannot fail to be astonished at the boldness and originality of the early engineer who ventured to construct such an earthen bank across a valley down which floods of considerable volume passed in the rainy season. Owing to the heavy rainfall of the gathering ground, which averages about 85 inches per annum, the maximum flood may amount to 12,000 or 14,000 cubic feet per second. Every engineer will recognise that to get rid of this volume of water in safety would be a serious problem.

Mr. Parker describes in detail the various devices of the old irrigation engineers, and particularly the sluices. One inscription is of interest as placing the name of a queen before that of a king. It runs

"Abhi Anuradhi, the wife (of) King Uttiya (and) daughter of King Naga ; and King Uttiya have caused this cave to be made for the community of the four quarters, present or future, at the Pasu vihara, an illustrious famous world."

This inscription dates from the second half of the third century B. C. Mr. Parker remarks :—

We may perhaps venture to assume that some idea of the position of women in Ceylon at that early date may be gathered from the fact that her name precedes that of the king. In dealing with the primitive religion I gave another instance of the precedence of a lady, perhaps a century afterwards ; while in the middle of the first century B. C. we find a queen Anula reigning over the whole country for five years. Also in the inscription 38 it will be seen that the name of a female chieftain, Parunaka Alapusaya, is mentioned. Dr. (Rhys) Davids has drawn attention to the circumstance that women are always placed before men in Buddhist texts. It is also clear from the statements in the Mahavamsa that from the earliest times women were allowed great freedom and independence in Ceylon.

Finally, a very full and valuable account of the ancient and modern Games never before systematically described, is given, adding greatly to the value and interest of the whole book. In an appendix on the Swastika, it is suggested that its form is derived from that of a cross* within a late magical boundary added to guard it from the intrusion of unfavourable spirits who might neutralise its suspicious qualities; in the most carefully drawn Swastikas the second portion of each arm forms exactly half the side of the enclosing square ; and in symbolism it is unnecessary to depict a design in full. This suggestion is decidedly plausible, and

As one whose duties permitted him to gain an intimate acquaintance with the ancient works, I have never concealed my admiration of the engineering knowledge of the designers of the great irrigation schemes of Ceylon ; and my friend and predecessor, the late Colonel C. Woodward, R. E., expressed the same opinion to me more than thirty years ago.

The Sinhalese were the first inventors of the valve-pit, only used in Europe since the middle of the last century; it "was a triumph of the ingenuity of the ancient Sinhalese engineers." Equally surprising was their knowledge of the fact that as water passed along the culverts the friction of the sides retarded its velocity and thus rendered an increased space for it necessary in order to avoid undue pressure against the sides and roof. This is shown by the enlargement of the sectional area of the culverts from entrance to outlet, even in very early works. In fact the " Sinhalese possessed profound practical knowledge of the best methods of dealing with water."

A detailed account is next given of the Earliest Inscriptions and then of the Earliest Coins, the latter with many excellent illustrations, sug-

*The cross itself being regarded as a 'favourite house for (beneficent) spirits.' We may compare with this idea (p. 492) the crosses marked on certain game-diagrams to indicate the 'Houses of Safety' for the pieces played with, as in Panchakaliya (p. 609).

gests a parallel with the protective boundaries which are still made use of in magical ceremonies, for example, the ring of ashes drawn round the threshing-floor.

Mention must be made of the most important single discovery recorded in the volume. This is the seal from Yatthala Dagaba. It represents a king seated upon a throne of rustic construction. The figure is simply dressed in a cloth and shawl. The seal is probably Indian in origin and pre-Christian in date, perhaps of the third century B. C. and is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of early Indian art.

One difficulty mentioned by Mr. Parker may perhaps be solved. A certain history quoted on p. 366 speaks of "four superb gems, in size about a small grindstone." Mr. Parker adds in a footnote: "I do not know what is meant by this, the grindstone not being an Eastern article." Probably, however, the 'grindstone' refers to the small hones *(kana-laella)* used by Sinhalese craftsmen, made of a mixture of emery powder with pitch or lac, and if so, the meaning is quite clear. A 'small hone' might be two inches by one or thereabouts in size.

Perhaps the chief fault to be found with the book is that so few references are given to the literature bearing upon the subject treated of, and this appears to result in many cases from a neglect to study it. In discussing Dambadeniya for example (p. 256), no mention is made of Bishop Copleston's useful paper on Sirivaddhanapura in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1892. In enquiring into the length of the ordinary and the carpenter's cubit he ignores the measurement of an actual specimen which I have given in my book on Sinhalese art, and similarly ignoring descriptions of weaving and iron-smelting as still carried on by the Kandians, he states that they are now unknown, and quotes only old accounts. The whole section on arts and implements is scanty, though the account of the weapons is good. The supposed statue of King Duttha Gamani is reproduced (Fig. 72) without reference to the likely suggestion that the statute represents a Bodhisattva. These small matters do not detract from the great merit of a book filled with original observations, and quite indispensible to the student of Ancient India and Ceylon, especially to those concerned with Buddhist antiquities, and with folk-lore and anthropology.

Mr. Parker illustrates, very inadequately, the rock carving at Isurumuniya, representing a seated male figure, in what is known as *Maharaja-lila* posture, associated with the representation of a horse. He suggests that the work may be of the first century A. D. The character of the work, however, makes it impossible to regard it as so early; it belongs to the finest style of Indian art, the most abstract and idealistic, and is probably of about the seventh or eighth century; I think also that the figure almost certainly represents *Kapila* and that the supposed helmet is the long coiled hair of a Yogi.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

Alberuni's India. By Dr. Edward C. Sachau. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., Dryden House, Gerrard Street, London, W.) 1910. Price £1—5*s.*

A History of Sumer and Akkad. By Leonard W. King, M. A., F. S. A., (Chatto and Windus. 111 St. Martin's Lane, London.) 1910. Price £1—1*s.*

The English Factories in India. Vol. IV. (1630—1633.) Edited by William Foster. (Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, London, E.C.) 1910. Price 12*s*—6*d.*

Bombay in the Making. By P. B. M. Malabari. (T. Fisher Unwin. Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London. W. C.) 1910. Price

Mysore and Coorg. By Lewis Rice, C. I. E., (Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 10, Orange Street, Leicester Square, London. W. C.) 1909. Price 15*s.*

The Master as I Saw Him. By Sister Nivedita, (Udbohan Office, 12, 13, Gopal Chandra Neogi's Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta). 1910. Price Rs. 4.

Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetti Street, Madras.) 1910. Price Rs. 2

Tent Life in Siberia. By George Kennan (G. P. Putnam's sons. New York U. S. A. and 24 Bedford Street, Strand, London. E. C.) 1910. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Principles of Political Economy. By John Stuart Mill. Edited by Prof. W. J. Ashley, M. A., (Messrs Longmans, Green, & Co., 39 Paternoster Row. London and Bombay). 1909. Price 5*s.*

Pitman's "Common Commodities of Commerce" Series. Sugar; By George Martineau ; *Oil.* By C. A. Mitchell (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd ; 1, Amen Corner, London, E. C.) 1910. Price 1*s. net* each.

History of Caste in India. By Shridhar V. Ketkar. (Taylor and Carpenter. Ithaca, U. S. A.) 1909. Price 4*s.*

Commentaries on the Code of Criminal Procedure. By. Dr. S. Swaminadhan. (Addison & Co., Mount Road, Madras.) 1910. Price Rs. 12.

Henderson's Criminal Procedure Code. Eighth edition. By Hari Bhushan Mukerji. (Thacker, Spink and Co ; Calcutta.) 1910. Price Rs. 22-8.

WE welcome a new edition—though but an unrevised reprint—of the great Indo-Arab classic, *Alberini's India*, and are grateful to the publishers, whose enterprise we commend. The book has long since been acknowledged to be a standard work on the sociological condition of India, in the first half of the eleventh century. The author, Abu Raihan or Alberuni was a Central Asian traveller and scholar, who spent several years in this country and mastered its languages, literatures and science, and ultimately produced the very remarkable treatise, the English translation of which was first published, with annotations by Dr. Edward Sachau, in 1888. For years the book was out of print and we are therefore thankful for the reprint under notice, though we can not but regret that advantage was not taken of the occasion to issue an edition with the notes carefully revised

in the light of the results obtained in oriental studies and research, since the first edition of the book. Even as it is, it will be welcome to students of Indian studies by reason of its being the most complete and comprehensive account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, astrology, customs, laws and manners of the Hindus about 1030 A. D., *i.e.*, on the eve of the Mussalman conquest of the land. Apart from its being a most valuable source of knowledge of the people at that time, it is of the greatest interest to students of social reform and progress in Modern India and was, we believe, utilised for the purpose by the late Mr. Justice Ranade in his inaugural address at one of the sessions of the Indian Social Conference. We commend the new edition to educated Indians.

In a sumptuously illustrated volume, the first of a series of three in which the work is to be completed, Mr. Leonard King, Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, London, has undertaken, and sucessfully accomplished, the task of retelling the history of Babylonia and Assyria, in the light of the recent progress in the Babylonian and Assyrian studies and exploration. And the first volume, called *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, gives promise, when completed, of supplying the requirments of the student for a much-needed authoritative history of the ancient civilization of the Mesopotamian valley. In the volume under notice, Mr. King sets forth the early history of the country down to the foundation of the Babylonian monarchy, and the definite supremacy of the Semitic inhabitants. The whole of this volume contains, therefore, matter that is compartively new, and much that is still obscure and dependent for ratification on further archæological discoveries. The problems presented by this early period are most adequately discussed and admirably set forth by the author. After dealing with the various sites which mark the ancient cities of the two districts of Sumer and Akkad, and giving an excellent summary of the excavations hitherto conducted by the French, American, and German scientific expeditions, he goes on to give a detailed account of the leading characteristics of the Sumerian race, of their art and civilization, and of their connection with the Semitic inhabitants of the country. Mr. King also discusses the early chronology, and points out how hopelessly impossible is the old system of dating. He does not simply destroy the old system, but produces a new reckoning based on exhaustive study of contemporary and later documents. This is supplemented by an excellent king-list at the end of the book, in which the kings and *patesis* of the various city States are drawn up in chronological order, and parallel to one another when known to be contemporary. Then follows a history based on most careful study of the contemporary documents and objects discovered in recent excavations. Altogether, Mr. King's *History of Sumer and Akkad* is a work of the highest value, embodying the results of the latest researches

and lucidly presenting them to all interested in the history of Balylonia and Assyria in particular, and of the origin and development of human civilization in general. A special word of acknowledgment is due to the enterprise of the publishers in giving the book a most spleadid *format* and in turning it out in the best style of mechanical workmanship. We shall look forward to the publication of the second and third volumes of the work, with great interest.

A terrible famine is the chief event of the three years (1630-33) covered by the fourth volume of Mr. Willian Foster's excellent edition of the calender of documents relating to the English in India, which are being published under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Millions of people perished from bad harvests, followed by great floods. As a typical letter runs : —

" Many dead bodyes laye upon the hye way ; and where they dyed they must consume of themselves, beinge nobody that would burey them. In the eythy of Suratt ther is so great a stanch of dead persons that the sound people that come into the towne were with the smell infected and all the corners of the streets the dead laye 20 together.

Does not the above recall scenes familiar to us all during recent famines ? How little has India changed, at any rate, in this respect ? The book abounds with such interesting details. A letter of 1632 suggests considerable consumption of ' punch ' by some of the agents. This appears to be the earliest mention of this famous drink, the name being derived from the Hindi *panch*, " five," in allusion to the number of ingredients used. Many of the merchants, on the other hand, had much of the Puritanical spirit. Fines were imposed for non-attendance at daily prayers and divine service on Sundays. There were many complaints and regulations against drinking, gambling, filthy talk, and the " multitude of sacrilidgious and abhominable oaths, which are imitated by the heathen people who have learned to stamer a little English." Here there is one more count against British rule—that it taught our people to swear ! Other such interesting information the reader must seek for himself. The records, which this and the other volumes of the series make now for the first time public, are, of course, indispensable to all students of the history of the origin and growth of British rule in India and of the sociological condition of the country during the rule of the Moghuls. Each volume is provided by the editor with an excellent Introduction, copious notes, and map and index. No student of Indian history can do without these volumes. The frontispiece to the volume under notice, is a reproduction of Van Dyck's portrait of the Earl of Denbigh, who was the first English nobleman to go touring in the East. He was evidently proud of the tour, and the portrait shows him dressed in a semi-Indian costume and attended by an Indian servant, with a background of tropical scenery.

A book which will be read with peculiar interest by everyone interested in the city of Bombay, and by all serious students of the history of Western India

has just been published. It is the work of Mr. Phiroze Malabari, Deputy Registrar of the High Court, Bombay. Its title and explanatory sub-title read thus: "Bombay in the Making : Being Mainly a History of the Origin and Growth of Judicial Institutions in the Western Presidency," with an Introduction by Sir George Sydenham Clarke, Governor of Bombay. Remembering modern Bombay's one million inhabitants and immense industrial wealth, it is interesting to recall that it became a possession of the Crown, as part of the dowry of Charles II's Queen Braganza, and was leased to the East India Company at the not exorbitant rental of £10 per annum. That was in 1669. Mr. Malabari's studiously-complied record provides us with the story of Bombay's progress during the ensuing six decades. Writes Sir George in his luminous Introduction :—

> "Few traces now remain of the early days with which Mr. Malabari deals"--a fact which lends special value to his work, which will probably prove a mine from which future writers will derive much profit -' 'and man has laid a heavy hand upon the natural beauties which many visitors have recorded. A thick pall of smoke, the wasteful outpouring of numberless chimneys overhangs the island and obscures the splendid back-ground of the Western Ghats. Yet when the sunset paints the waters of the harbour, and tinges the sails of the old world craft that still ply their trade unchanged since the time of the Angrias, or when at night the necklace of lights embraces the noble sweep of Back Bay under the stars, none can deny the fascinations of the great eastern gate of India, of the city which, in Gerald Aungier's words, was to be built 'by God's assistance.' "

Mr. Malabari's book is distinctly one to be read cerefully and at leisure; and one which, being read, must be given an honourable place upon the reader's book shelves. The author has brought to bear upon his selt-imposed task infinite patience, assiduous labour and careful research and the result is a very interesting work which will appeal not only to those who have any connection with the High Court of Bombay, but to all who are interested in the study of the growth and progress of Bombay, the second city of the British Empire. The book is admirably written and so far as its literary merits are concerned, the author has proved himself a worthy son of a worthy father—Mr. Behramji Malabari, who has long since made his mark as a distinguished *litterateur* and scholar, no less than as a publicist and thinker.

In his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, Mr. Lewis Rice C. I. E., has brought together valuable materials as a contribution to the history of Southern India. The inscriptions deciphered in Mysore and Coorg have been published in twelve large volumes, called *Epigraphica Carnatica.* They contain numerous facsimiles, and the original texts of all the inscriptions, printed in the vernacular as also with transliteration into the Roman character and with English translation. It is not possible, however, for the average reader to cope with such a mass of materials and a work systematically

summarizing the researches was a *desideratum*. This has now been admirably supplied by Mr. Rice, than whom none is better qualified for the task. The author has utilized the information derived from the inscriptions for producing a consecutive historical narrative of Mysore and Coorg. He has been pre-eminently successful in his effort to write out a compendious sketch of the subject and he has placed before students a work which is invaluable both for purposes of study and reference. Apart from the historical narrative, he offers interesting sketches of the features of administration, manners and customs, art, literature and religion of the people, whose history he has recorded and reviewed. It is thus a most notable and highly useful contribution to the study of south Indian history and antiquities.

If any European has had exceptional opportunities of studying Hindus and their lives, it is Miss Margarett Noble, better known as Sister Nivedita. She began her studies under the guidance of Swami Vivekananda and the fact that she was his disciple was a passport to the very heart of Hindu society. On landing in India she did not tarry on the outskirts of Hinduism but penetrated to its very core, piercing through the veil of the *purdah* and entered the zenana, there to spend her life among Hindu women, who preserve the religion of the land in its purity, untouched by the solvent influences of modern movements. Sister Nivedita proved herself very receptive as a student and has drunk deep, at the fountain head, the essence of everything Hindu. A few years of life in Hindu homes, practically as a Hindu woman, has enabled her to acquire a knowledge which a generation of life in the outer world in India cannot give even to an observant European. Her life in India as embodied in *The Master as I Saw Him*, the work under notice, and in her *Web of Indian Life*, has many lessons to offer to European students who would study India. She has unbounded sympathy for our people and their ideals, of which she has been trying to learn the *rationale*; and, armed with this essential requisite, her studentship under Swami Vivekananda has proved to her a great source of inspiration and enlightenment, with the result that few foreign students can claim to possess her intimate and correct knowledge of Indian ideals and institutions, to which her works bear unmistakable testimony. There is not an aspect of Hindu religion, philosophy or life that a student will not find dealt with in the pages of *The Master as I Saw Him* and it is eminently useful to those who would know something of the great Hindu sanyasi, Swami Vivekananda, and the environments in which he lived and laboured. The book partakes at once of the character of a biographical study and a record of reminiscences of her guru, the late Swami. Sister Nivedita also unfolds the story of her discipleship and her progress as a student of Hindu religion, philosophy, manners and customs. She begins with the visit of the Swami to London in 1895 and takes her readers through an interesting account of his activities not merely as a preacher of the Vedanta

in Western lands, but as a cultured, liberal and broad-minded Hindu studying human institutions and social progress in lands other than his own. The Swami is presented as a philosopher, teacher and, above all, as an ardent patriot, whose one desire was to see the regeneration of his mother-land and the establishment of the Vedanta as a universal religion. Conversations, anecdotes, biographical incidents, reminiscences, are all pressed into service to illuminate his life and ideals. The Swami was a great believer in the exchange of ideas between the East and the West, and at the same time he gravely warned the West again and again of the great danger of its attempting to force upon others that which it had merely found to be good for itself. He was the severest critic of his own countrymen and their institutions: he denounced their superstitions and the weak points in their social and religious institutions; but all these criticisms were inspired by his desire to see his people uplifted and ennobled. Though much has been written on the life-work of Swami Vivekananda, his figure has never stood in more prominent relief than in the loving pages of his disciple. Sister Nevedita's *The Master as I Saw Him* is a book to read and reread, for it presents us with a perennial feast.

In view of the eighty-sixth birthday anniversary of Our Grand Old Man, on the 4th of September, the publication of the *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji*, which we owe to the enterprise of our esteemed friend, Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras, is singularly opportune and ought to command a large circulation. It is the first attempt to bring under one cover an exhaustive and comprehensive collection of the speeches and writings of the venerable Indian patriot. The book is divided into two parts. The first is a collection of his speeches and includes the addresses that he delivered before the Indian National Congress on the three occasions when he presided over that assembly; all the speeches that he delivered in the House of Commons and a selection of the speeches that he delivered, from time to time, in England and India; the second includes all his statements to the Welby Commission, a number of papers relating to the admission of Indians to the Services and many other vital questions of Indian administration. The Appendix contains, among others, the full text of his evidence before the Welby Commission, his statement to the Indian Currency Committee of 1898, his replies to the questions put to him by the Public Service Committee on East Indian Finance. The volume extends over more than 875 pages, is neatly printed and attractively got up and is certainly cheap at its price. Mr. Naoroji has been in the active service of his Motherland for over sixty years and during this long period he has been steadily and strenuously working for the good of his countrymen; it is hoped that his writings and speeches which are now presented in a handy volume will be welcomed by thousands of his admiring countrymen. It is unnecessary to say anything in appreciation of the value of the papers brought together

by Mr. Natesan. Suffice it to say, that for the student of Indian politics and economics the work is simply invaluable.

The publication in the sixties of the last century of a book on Siberia, by the American explorer, Mr. George Kennan, caused a memorable sensation and he became the lion of the hour. His experiences at that time were as unique as those of Stanley in Africa or Sven Hedin in Tibet. The present work—under the familiar name of *Tent Life in Siberia*—is a much-enlarged edition of the original volume. It includes afterthoughts and revisions by the author which make it a true picture of the travel and adventure, which he experienced among arctic nomads and settlers in Siberia and Kamschatka. The illustrations are good, but scarcely so good as the author's literary descriptions of the grandeur which characterizes the scenery of Northern Asia. The Cossacks mounted on reindeer, the dogs dragging the sledge through the snow, the wife entering her house by the roof, the reindeer-sledge and the groups of strange peoples and strange dwellings, form subjects for some thirty illustrations. There are also maps which inform the reader and tempt him to take a voyage to Kamschatka. The inimitable power of Mr. Kennan, as a writer of descriptive prose, renders this volume a classic in its presentation of a remote and almost inaccessible region. The glorious mountain views, the flat and melancholy wastes of snow, the queer domestic life and customs of the people, by no means destory the human interest which Mr. Kennan takes in places where "winter barricades the realms of frost." We are, therefore, glad that the publishers have brought out in a well-got-up volume an illustrated and amplified edition of this classic of travel literature.

Professor Ashley, the well-known economist, has put the economic world under his obligation by bringing out an important edition of Mill's great work, *Principles of Political Economy*. He has taken the final text of 1871, and has traced the various changes which were introduced in the six revisions, which separate it from the original text of 1848. The editor has, accordingly, as a result of collating the seven editions, while adopting the text of the seventh, indicated in foot-notes all divergences between the successive editions, stating at the same time the particular edition, in which the divergence first appeared. Many of these changes are illuminating, as showing the fluidity and unfinality of Mill's thinking. The editor has supplemented the text by what he modestly terms a Bibliographical Appendix, giving references to the chief writers who have dealt since Mill's time with the various topics of his treatise. It is much more than this, however, for it provides in a compact form a complete apparatus for bringing up to date the study of the more important moot questions contained in Mill's *Political Economy*. Compiled by an economist of Professor Ashley's knowledge and authority, it is bound to be invaluable to all students of modern economic literature. Thus under the note

upon the wages-fund doctrine is reprinted the gist of Mill's recantation of that error, in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1869. Admirable also is the selection of essential statistical matter containing the gist of such movements as price-variations, fluctuating wage levels, and declining birth-rates. Nothing is better adapted than this vitalizing kind of editing to prevent a literary and scientific masterpiece of a by-gone generation from becoming merely the happy-hunting-ground of the professional commentator and eventually the victim of the specialist. It is not the least of the work's merits that a thousand pages of good clear type are compressed within two covers without producing a bulky volume. In his entertaining Introduction of twenty-five pages, Professor Ashley, with commendable restraint, has limited himself to pointing out the many intellectual streams which met without ever quite coalescing in Mill's economic thinking. Altogether, Professor Ashley's carefully-edited and annotated edition of Mill's *Political Economy* is likely to hold the field for yet a long time to come as the standard edition of that great economic classic.

We have before us two more volumes in Pitman's "Common Commodities of Commerce" series—those on *Oil* by Mr. C. A. Mitchell and on *Sugar* by Mr. G Martineau. In noticing the earlier volumes in the July issue, we pointed out the general scope of the series, which was to enable the business-man or trader to thoroughly equip himself for the efficient performance of his specific work and to enlighten the general reader's mind regarding some of the common commercial commodities, each book being devoted to a particular subject and treated by an expert writer and practical man of business. The volumes under notice effectively carry out the object aimed at by the publishers. Like the previous volumes on Tea, Cotton and Coffee—already noticed—the books on Oil and Sugar, begin with the life-history of the plant or natural product and sketch its development till it becomes a commercial commodity and then deal with the various phases of its sale in the market and its purchase by the consumer. Just at present when so much interest is being manifested in the industrial development of India, the books in Pitman's series will be highly useful as embodying precisely the information that is required for advancing our industrial regeneration. We strongly commend this series of books to all interested in the great and beneficent *Swadeshi* movement.

A little volume, the *History of Caste in India*, by Mr. Shridhar V. Ketkar of Cornell University, attempts to give a new interpretation of the vexed question of caste from the point of view of an Indian scholar. Mr. Ketkar protests against the translation of *varna* as caste; but this is not a new idea. It is only because the idea of caste is foreign to westerns and because *varna* was originally rendered by "caste" that this remains a convenient word with which to translate what in strictness should be "class" or "order." Yet the correct word for caste was constantly

interchanged by the Hindu writers themselves with the word *varna*, and even Manu, with whom Mr. Ketkar is chiefly concerned, is not consistent in his use of the words. Manu's date is put rather late by Mr. Ketkar, who assigns him to the third century, A. D.; chiefly on the ground that the Andhras are mentioned in Manu as a low caste, which as Mr. Ketkar thinks, could happen only when the Andhra race of warriors was sunk to a low level, as it was in the third century. In his ethnological appendix Mr. Ketkar criticises Sir Herbert Risley, and maintains that even the Dravidians, in fact, all the people of India, "with the probable exception of the Bengalese and the north-eastern frontier tribes," are Caucasian. This is a view requiring more arguments in its favor than are given by the author in the present monograph, and more space to discuss than the limit of this note permits. As Mr. Ketkar promises to write a series of monographs, he will probably take up the subject again. At present it seems to be as inconclusive a suggestion as that given to the world, a few years ago in regard to the "Aryan" Ainos of Japan. Mr. Ketkar, by the way, makes a timely protest against confusing "Aryan," and racial characteristics. To the Hindu, says the author, the word *arya* was not ethnical but ethical. Arya was noble; an Aryan was a gentlemen, of whatever race. Yet even here it must not be forgotten that the "noseless" people mentioned in early Vedic times show race-signs not forgotten later on when the "regenerate" (high-caste) Hindus are particularly described as having "fine noses." While not agreeing with Mr. Ketkar on all points, we have found his little book stimulating and thought-provoking.

That distinguished South Indian jurist and scholar, Dr. S. Swaminadhan, who very ably edited the last edition of Sohoni's well-known edition of the Code of Criminal Procedure, has now placed the legal world under a very great obligation by bringing out an almost ideal edition of the great code which contains the adjective criminal law of India. It is difficult to over-praise Dr. Swaminadhan's *Commentaries on the Code of Criminal Procedure*, which are thoroughly up-to-date in their digest of case-law and which tower head and shoulder over most other editions available in the lucidity and accuracy of exposition, and in the careful systematization of the subject-matter. The arrangement adopted highly conduces to the value of the book as a work of reference and we have no hesitation in declaring it to be about the best annotated edition and commentary of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Only one suggestion we shall make for the next edition and which is that, even at the risk of adding a few pages, the names of the parties in the cases referred to, be given. The publishers have done their work well, the printing and get-up of the book being excellent.

The late Mr. Henderson's edition of the Code of Criminal Procedure has been acknowleged for many years now as one of the standard commen-

taries. Its reputation has stood high and deservedly so, for few editions of the Criminal Procedure Code are better calculated to assist the busy practitioner with just the information he needs on the spur of the moment, when he is on his legs conducting or arguing a case. For some years the book was out of print. We, therefore, welcome the new (eighth) edition, just issued, under the very competent editorship of Mr. Hari Bhusan Mukerji, well-known as an accurate and careful annotator of the Criminal Procedure and some other Codes. Mr. Mukerji's edition is, so far as we have tested it, thoroughly up-to-date and its publication will be a boon to the Criminal Court practitioners. The get-up is worthy of the high reputation of the leading firm of Anglo-Indian publishers.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

1. *The India Office List 1910.* (Harrison and sons, 45, Pall Mall, London.) Price 10s-6d
2. *The Statesman's Year Book 1910.* Edited by J. Scott Keltie LL. D. Forty-seventh Annual Publication. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Lane, London.) Price 10s-6d.
3. *The British Almanac and Companion 1910.* Eighty-third Annual Publication. (Cassell and Co. Ltd ; La Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, London E. C.) Price 1s.
4. *The Daily News Year-Book 1910.* Seventh Annual Publication. (The Daily News Ltd. London.) Price 6d. net.
5. *The New International year-Book* : A Compendium of the World's Progress for the year 1909. Edited by Frank Moore Colby and Allen Leon Churchill. (Dodd, Mead and Co., New York, U. S. A.) 1910.
6. *The Directory of Indian Goods and Industries.* Fourth Edition. (Industrial Association office, Amraoti), 1910. Price Re. 1-8.
7. *India, Burma and Ceylon* : Information for Travellers and Residents. (Thomas Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, London.) 1910.
8. *Every Man's Cyclopedia.* By Arnold Villiers. (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. Carter Lane, Ludgate Hill, London, E C.) 1910. Price 3s-6d.
9. *Dictionary of Foreign Literature.* By Arnold Villiers. (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd ; Carter Lane, Ludgate Hill, London, E. C. 1910. Price 1s.
10. *Student's Hand-Book of Varieties of Idiomatic English.* By V. G. Dawoo. B. A. (C. P. Printing Works, Nagpore.) 1910. Price Rs. 2-4.

I.

THE first six books in our list are annual publications and can, broadly speaking, be said to have for their backbone those "damned lies," as some inspired but irritated critic designated, what are called, "statistics." Indeed,

but for statistics, these volumes would cease to be works of reference. The *India Office List* is issued annually in the month of May, by the India Office, and is compiled from official records by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Its usual contents comprise the following sections:—The staff at the India Office, the Indian Civil Service and all other holders of civil appointments with a substantive pay of not less than Rs. 500 a month (in classified lists under the various provinces), the Royal Indian Marine, chronological lists of heads of administration in India and in England, going back as far as 1600, the Indian orders and lists of members of the Indian services holding British honours, the various regulations, for appointment to the services, extracts from civil and military regulations, an instructive article, entitled "India," statistical tables, a record of services and the casualties for the past year. The Index contains nearly 10,000 names. The arrangement of the *India Office List* is, on the whole, admirable and it is full of sound and useful information about India, from the excellent map of the Indian Empire with which it opens to the list of casualties with which it ends. In fact, we know of no other work of reference which supplies such a mass of most valuable and useful information—within the covers of a single volume—to every one interested in India. Our only regret is that its price is prohibitive for the purse of the average educated Indian and we would impress upon the authorities the desirability of reducing the price by half. Considering the vast range of the subjects dealt within the *India Office List*, the book is remarkably free from inaccuracies, though it is hopeless to expect that any work of reference, and least of all one dealing with so complex a subject as the Indian Empire, will be absolutely accurate. To the general reader the most interesting portion of the book is the article on "India," which gives in some forty pages the quintessence of the four volumes called the *Indian Empire*, constituting the general section of the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

We are told in the preface that the descriptive account of India has been rewritten in the present edition. Following the precedent of the previous years, we would suggest the following changes in the next year's edition On p. 380, in the right-hand column, line 14 from top, the word "native"—which is rightly objected to in this country—should be replaced by the more appropriate word "Indian", also in line 2 from top of left-hand column on p. 382, and in fact everywhere else throughout the book. On p. 383, the statement that "Lower Bengal (excluding Orissa) and a few districts of the United Provinces and of Madras have permanent settlement", is not sufficiently explicit, the more so as "Lower Bengal" conveys no definite idea of the territories now no longer under one Government since the partition of Bengal. The statement on p. 389 that the Madras Government consists of the Governor and a council of not more than four members "of the Indian Civil Service", could not be quite correct, as one of the councillors is an Indian nobleman. In the same paragraph the expression "Lieutenant-Governor" for the ruler of Madras is an obvious slip for the "Governor". On p. 390, the words "or more properly Lower Bengal" should be omitted, for reasons given above, and so should they be elsewhere. On p. 391, in the table of languages all reference to Hindi should be omitted as the Behar group of languages are known now to philologists as "Beharee". In the section (on the same page) dealing with manufactures, reference should have

been made to the famous filigree-work of Cuttack. On p. 391 A. the territorial areas included in the provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam omits to mention the Surma Valley and the hill-districts division, and it rather unnecessarily enumerates the names of the districts of the Rajshahi division, while rightly confining itself to the names of the two other Bengal divisions (namely Dacca and Chittagong) without designating the districts comprised in them. The statement on the same page that "Assan. is in the charge of a Deputy Commissioner" is an obvious slip for its being in the charge of a Commissioner. On p. 392, the eastern boundary of the United Provinces, given as "Bengal" is also an obvious slip for "Behar". On p. 394, the number 43 stated as that of the Indian States under the Punjab Government is evidently a misprint for the correct figure 34. There should also have been some reference made in the section to the Chief Court. On page 395, we are suspriseci to find in the table of languages of the Central Provinces, Oriya claiming a population of 702, 635. An obvious error this as since the transfer of the Sambalpore district and adjoining territories from the Central Provinces to the Orissa division of the Lower Provinces in 1905, there is hardly any Oriya-speaking population left in the former province. On the same page the statement that the province is divided into "four divisions and 18 districts", should have included the Berar division with its four districts, to which curiously enough we find no reference either here or elsewhere. As Berar is now an integral part of the Central Provinces, it would be well to deal with it as a part of the latter province. In conclusion, we repeat our suggestions made in previous years, for reasons already stated, for the shortening of the title of the book from the *India Office List* to the *India List* only, as also for introducing such changes in the colouring of the map of the Indian Empire as will assimilate it to that which appears in the latest (1907) edition of *Bradshaw's through Routes to the Chief Cities of the World.*

II.

Next to the *India Office List*, the book of greatest value to the student of Indian questions, is undoubtedly the *Statesman's Year-Book*, of which the edition for 1910 is the forty-seventh annual publication. It would be idle to say anything in praise of this most valuable work of reference to the students of Politics, the merits of which are acknowledged all over the English-knowing world. It has long been recognized as the one indispensable book of reference for the statesman, the politician and the publicist. The book is now divided into three parts, the first dealing with the countries constituting the British Empire, the second with the United States of America, and the third with "Other Countries. Historical and statistical information about each country (and about each State separately of the United States) is given under most of the following heads :— constitution and government, area and population, religion, instruction, justice and crime, pauperism, finance, defence, production and industry, commerce, shipping and navigation, internal communication, money and credit, weights and measures, and diplomatic representatives. A useful list of books of reference supplements the account of each country or State. The volume is a marvel of condensation and it is so up-to-date that it notes the death of King-Edward, the accession of King-George, the Union of South Africa and the changes in the Belgian Congo. The editor deserves to be congratulated on not only the completeness and the accuracy of the information supplied but for having brought it down to the latest available date.

Having indicated the scope of the *Statesman's Year-Book* and its extreme usefulness, we may now turn to those portions of it, which deal with India. On page 117, it is stated that there are eight departments of the Government of India. This is inaccurate as there are only seven departments—Public Works, which is mentioned as one of them, having been abolished some years back and Military Supply in the early part of last year. When the new Education department is duly constituted under Mr. Butler, there will be then eight departments, but not till then. The statement on page 118, that "each province is usually broken into divisions under Commissioners," does not bring out the fact that there are no such territorial jurisdictions in Madras. On the same page the statement that "under the new scheme the Legislative Councils of the provinces will be constituted as follows," does not bring out the fact that the Councils have already been so constituted since January last and are in full working order. It is stated on page 127, that the "United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have...a High Court." We do wish that the statement were true, but unfortunately it is not so. The High Court at Allahabad exercises jurisdiction over the Province of Agra alone—still under its old name of the North-Western Provinces—as it is so declared in the Letters Patent which have not yet been amended—and has nothing to do with the judicial administration of Oudh, which has its highest tribunal in the Judicial Commissioner's Court of three Judges, and not "one Judicial Commissioner" as is wrongly stated on the same page. The statement on page 130 that "in the greater part of Bengal and... some districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the assessment was permanently fixed" suffers from defects of both omission and commission. It omits all reference to Behar, which large province also enjoys the blessings of the permanent settlement and it conveys by implication that some parts of Oudh are permanently settled, which, of course is not the case. The statement should thus have been as follows :—"In the greater part of Bengal, in Behar, and...... in some of the eastern districts of the province of Agra, &c." On the same page it is stated that "the cultivation of poppy is only permitted in parts of the provinces of Bengal and of the United Provinces." Here, again, Behar should be substituted for Bengal, as hardly any poppy is grown in the latter province, practically the whole of the poppy-growing area in the Lower Provinces being confined to the Behar districts. We have pointed out these mistakes of omission and commission with a view to increase the utility of the book, which we so greatly admire. We shall repeat our suggestion, made in previous years, before concluding our review and hope to see it adopted in the next year's issue. It is that just as the States composing the German Empire and the American Union have been treated separately in the *Satesman's Year-Book*—apart from the general sketches of the Empire and the Republic—so there should be separate accounts given of the different Indian provinces and of the important Native States. India is certainly a country in one sense, but it is none the less true that it is practically a sub-cont'nent, each of its provinces being equal in area and population to two or three of the average European countries. The figures, therefore, given for the whole of India, do not necessarily meet with the requirements of the Indian politicians and publicists, and it would be a great boon, indeed, if the editor of the *Statesman's Year-Book* would see his way to accept our suggestion to deal with the each Indian province and each large Native State or a group of Native States separately. There can be no

doubt that the introduction of these features will lead to the extended use of the book in India.

III.

The British Almanac and Companion is the oldest publication of its kind in the English-speaking world, the volume under notice being the eighty-third annual edition of the book. And it is not only the oldest but one of the best annual works of general reference and miscellaneous information on a large number of subjects of current interest. With certain differences, it is conceived and executed on the same lines as its younger competitor for public favour—viz., *Whitaker's Almanac.* In the present edition very considerable alterations and additions have been made and the whole work has been thoroughly revised, amplified and overhauled to an extent, which has rendered necessary the expansion of the work by over one hundred pages. For the first time information has been included about the countries of the world, outside the pale of the British Empire, and this in itself constitutes a valuable feature and a notable addition to the book. It is claimed that most of the matters dealt with have been handled by experts and so for as we have tested the book, the claim seems to be well-founded. The section devoted to India extends over some twenty pages and gives a lucid and well-arranged summary of Indian conditions of to-day. On the whole, the *British Almanac* is not only the cheapest but one of the most valuable works of general reference and compendious information. It deserves a large sale in India.

IV.

The Daily News Year-Book—now in the seventh year of its publication—is evidently a Liberal counterblast, as a work of reference, to the Tory *Daily Mail Year-Book*, and curiously it price is the same as that of the latter—viz 6d *net.* For this trifling cost, the *Daily News Year-Book* is a most marvellous compendium of highly useful and specialised information on an immense range of sociological topics of current interest. It is divided into no less than sixteen sections and each section is further subdivided into a series or groups of connected subjects. The sixteen sections deal with National Finance, Trade and Commerce, National Defence, Parliament and Polities, New Ireland, Local Government, Life and Labour, Land Reform, Social Reform, Education, Women, Justice and Crime, the Churches, Miscellaneous Topics, Imperial and Foreign Affairs and Societies—learned and others. The scope of the book is truly comprehensive and the information it brings together is valuable by reason of its being well-arranged and accurate. In almost every section special articles appear from the pen of experts. A notable feature is the list of important books on most of the topics dealt with, with the aid of which one may pursue the subject, on which information is sought further. Altogether the *Daily News Year-Book* is an invaluable work of reference and, should find a large sale in India, in spite of the fact that this country gets but a page and half out of its 320 pages. We hope India will fare better in the next edition.

V.

The New International Year-Book—which in style is similar to the American *New International Encyclopædia*, to which it serves as a supplement—is a pretty bulky volume of nearly 800 quarto pages, embellished with forty-two full page plates and ten new maps. Though dealing largely with American affairs

it is a valuable work of general reference. All the important happenings during the last year in the United States are carefully and elaborately summarised, while foreign affairs are also dealt with in a fairly comprehensive manner. Apart from politics and public affairs, sufficient space is devoted to progress in science and the sections devoted to aeronautics and medicine are very instructive and clearly set forth the great progress made in these sciences during 1909. It would have been well if the article on Polar research had been longer and more elaborate, in view of the dramatic and romantic nature of the facts to be recorded and their essential importance to the advancement of civilization. A valuable feature of the book are the specialised tables like those given under Necrology. The book is rightly recognized all over the English—speaking world as an indispensable and highly useful work of reference. But apart from its great merits as a reference book, its scope of usefulness is much wider, as it affords the shortest cut which the general reader can keep up with the course of events all over the world. In fact, the reader who will not find in turning over the pages of the book something of interest and value to him, must be a person of singularly narrow range of ideas. We strongly commend the use of the *New International Year-Book* to publicists and public men in India.

VI.

We welcome the fourth edition of the *Directory of Indian Goods and Industries*. The *Directory* is a valuable work of reference to all those who desire to acquaint themselves with Indian manufactures in several parts of the country. Though the *Directory* is but a well-arranged and well-edited catalogue of the Swadeshi articles and their manufacturers, its pages are inspiring and stimulating in that it has grown in size indicating that the number of Swadeshi manufactures has increased in number. With a copy of the *Directory* one cannot complain of want of information about the nature, merit and place of manufacture of Swadeshi articles. It is gratifying to find that almost all things necessary for us are manufactured in the country by Indians. We are glad to learn that both from the general public and the different departments of Government there is a great demand for this publication. The present *Directory* brings all information up-to-date. It has been neatly got up and is cheap at the price. Great credit is due to the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Mudholkar for the zeal he has brought to bear on his work as Secretary of the Industrial Association, under the auspices and at the offices of which (at Amraoti) the *Directory* is published.

VII.

Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons handy and very useful little annual—*India Burma and Ceylon*—has just appeared in a new and revised edition, in view of the setting in of the tourist season. As its subtitle indicates, it is a compendium of " information for travellers and residents " in India, and to do it but bare justice, it is an exceedingly compact manual of most useful information about things Indian. There are many excellent guides and handbooks to India but we would pity the traveller who would start on an Indian tour without this little book in his pocket. It covers a large range of subjects and is bound to prove of great use to tourists and even residents in this country, since in no other book known to us is there so much valuable information brought together

about matters pertaining to Indian traffic and travel. The data, it renders so easily accessible, make it a highly useful book of reference to tourists and residents in India.

VIII.

Routledge's Every Man's Cyclopædia is quite a wonderful book, as it gathers within the covers of a single volume of 650 pages of medium size historical, geographical, biographical and other valuable information. We find in it tables of universal biography ; historical allusions, battles and seiges ; a gazetteer of the world ; a compendious department of general information, besides a dictionary of law, list of words frequently misspelt, synonyms, pseudonyms and abbreviations. The information given is, for obvious considerations of space, necessarily brief and the gazetteer omits to give even pronounciations—a feature we would like to see introduced in the second edition—but the book is all the same a valuable and handy work of reference and may, by reason of its cheapness, be strongly recommended to those who can not afford to possess the more expensive encyclopædias.

IX.

Mr. Arnold Villiers' *Dictionary of Foreign and American Literature*, is the latest addition to Messrs Routledges "Miniature Reference Library" series, which now comprises a large number of exceedingly well-compiled bijou reference books, choicely printed on vellum paper, leather-bound in padded imitation morocco, and of a size convenient to slip into the vest-pocket. The series now includes a number of dictionaries of different European languages, and of Abbreviations, Synonyms, Quotations, Literature, Art, Music, Law, Religion, Mythology, History, Biograply, Names and Mottoes ; as also of Commercial, Economic, Literary, Philosophic and Scientific and Technical terminologies, besides a number of "Desk-books." Cheaply priced at one shilling *net* per volume, it is just the reference library suited for the Indian students. The new edition—the book under notice—gives the names of several hunderds of non-British and American authors with short biographies and fairly comprehensive lists of their works. In the case of American books the date of publication is also given and the same might be usefully done in the next edition with reference to the continental authors also. To the extent the data is complete, the little book is a convenient and handy work of reference. We commend it and, in fact, the whole series to which it belo ngs to students, and publicists in India.

X.

The Student's Hand-Book of Varities of Idiomatic English, by Mr. V. G. Dawoo, B. A., is a useful compilation and will assist Indian students in mastering successfully the resources of the English language. It is conceived on lines different from those of the other well-known books on the subject, that cater for our student community. It takes its idea of plan and execution from that standard work—Roget's *Thesaurus*, which deservedly holds the place of a classic in the literature of the subject. It tries to give all the variants of each phrase or idiomatic expression, besides a great deal of subsidiary information and it is thus likely to be of assistance to the journalist also. There is room for improvement in the mechanical execution and get-up of the book.

BRITISH PRESS DIRECTORIES FOR 1910.

1. *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory for 1910.*—Sixty-fifth Annual Issue. (C. Mitchell, & Co., Limited, Mitchell House. 1 and 2 Snow Hill, Holborn Viaduct, London, E. C.). Price one florin (2s.—6d.).

2. *Sell's World's Press 1910.*—By (the late) Henry Sell. Thirtieth Annual Issue. (168 and 167 Fleet Street, London, E. C.). Price one crown, (5s.).

3. *Street's Newspaper Directory 1910.*—(G. Street & Co., Limited, 30 Cornhill, London, E. C.). Price 3s.—6d.

4. *Vicker's Newspaper Gazetteer 1910.*—Eleventh Annual Issue. (J. W. Vickers & Co., 5 Nicholas Lane, London, E. C.) Price half a crown (2s.—6d.).

5. *Willing's Press Guide 1910.*—Thirty-seventh Annual Issue. (James Willing, Junr. Limited, 125 Strand, London, E. C.). Price one shilling.

6. *Layton's Handy Newspaper List 1910.*—Twentieth Annual Issue. (Charles and Edwin Layton. 56 Farringdon Street, London, E. C.). Price 6d.

OF the British press directories, which still continue to be published year after year, *Mitchell's* is the oldest, the issue under notice being the sixty-fifth annual publication. It is also one of the most comprehensive and well-arranged. The present issue contains the usual special articles in the shape of an interesting account of "The First Imperial Press Conference" by Mr. Harry Brittain—the very capable organizer of the Journalist's Convention—and a learned assay on "The Legal year in its Relation to the Press," by Dr. Hugh Fraser, besides illustrated obituary notices of three of the leading British journalists who died in 1909. Besides giving the fullest information about the British and Irish priodicals, journals, and newspapers, it devotes special sections to the colonial and the Indian press. There is in the issue under notice a useful summary of Indian trade and commerce, under the heading "British India: Its Trade and Resources," covering five pages and bristling with interesting facts and figures. Then follows the section headed "The Newspaper Press of India," giving lists of Indian periodicals, journals and newspapers. The lists are fairly complete and well-arranged, though regard being had to the circumstances under which they are compiled, one need not be surprised at their not being fully up-to-date. Some papers which ceased to exist last year or even year before last still figure in the lists, while some that have recently been started are conspicuous by their absence. The editor will do well to entrust the Indian section to some expert.

The *World's Press*, edited for the last thirty years by the late Mr. Henry Sell—whose recent death is a loss to journalism—is one of the most famous press directories, by reason of its wealth and variety of information. Besides elaborate lists of periodical publications of almost all countries of the world, it is enriched by a long series of special articles, written by, experts, on subjects likely to be of interest to pressmen. In the issue under notice there are no less than a dozen of such special contributions, extending over more than a hundred pages,

Of these special mention should be made of the "Dictionary of World's Press Bibliography II," the first part of which appeared in the issue of the *World's Press* for 1907. To those contemplatiug the formation of a library of journalistic literature, the bibliography is invaluable. No less interesting are the other special articles. There is a section devoted to the periodical publications of this country but the lists cover but two pages and there is thus obviously room for considerable improvement in this section. We hope the editor will see his way to materially amplify the Indian section in the next issue, so that the book may be of greater value to publicists and pressmen in India.

Street's Newspaper Directory is conceived on less ambitious lines than *Mitchell's* or *Sell's*, as it contains no special articles on current journalistic topics but otherwise it is a carefully—compiled and comprehensive directory of the British and the Irish press, with a section devoted to "a selected list of the leading Colonial and Indian newspapers." About six pages are given to the periodical publications of India and the lists are fairly complete but there are notable omissions as, for instance, of such well-known papers as the *Empire*, the *Indian Mirror*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Indian Patriot* and the *Panjabee*. Nor can a list of Indian publications be commended, which omits of all periodicals the *Hindustan Review* ! The Indian section of the directory, requires thorough overhauling.

Vicker's Newspaper Gazetteer is compiled on the same lines as *Street's*, *i. e.*, it comprises lists of British and Irish periodical publications, without any especial contributions on the topics of interest to pressmen. It has also a small "Colonial, Indian and Foreign section," the portion devoted to India being confined to some two pages. The list is thus obviously incomplete and many of the leading Indian and Anglo-Indian publications find no place in it. It is desirable that in the next edition the editor should make an effort to obtain reliable and adequate information about the periodical publications of this country.

Willing's Press Guide is a marvellous shillingworth of information about the British and Irish press, comprising some singularly interesting details about the histories of the older papers, which are not accessible in any of the other directories. Its list of "Existing Newspapers and Periodicals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Arranged Chronologically," is a most valuable feature, so is the list of "Titular changes and amalgamations." Its Indian section covers but half a page and is even more perfunctory than that of the other directories. But its lists of British and Irish publications is perhaps the most comprehensive of any and they are classified on lines conducive to enhancing the value of the book as a handy and useful work of reference.

Layton's Handy Newspaper List is—as its name indicates—meant, above everything, to be a 'handy' compilation, which certainly it is. It strictly confines itself to the Btitish and the Irish press and makes no effort to deal with the Foreign, Colonial and Indian press. Within the limits it has set for itself, it is a useful, little pamphlet, clearly printed and neatly got-up in paper covers and fairly cheap at six pence.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

THE following critical appreciation of some of the Indian periodicals which appears in the August number of *United Empire*—the monthly organ of the Royal Colonial Institute, London,—which is edited by that distinguished publicist, Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun, will no doubt be read with interest by the readers of this *Review* :—

"The *Hindustan Review*, of which twenty-one volumes have now been issued, is representative of the higher intellectual life of India, and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her more cultivated circles. Its contents are mainly contributed by Indians, although there is a fair number of articles by Europeans, and they are of special value from a political and philosophical point of view. The *Hindustan Review* occupies a position among Indian periodicals somewhat analogous to that of our own *Nineteenth Century* or *Fortnightly Review* and is almost entirely devoted to India and its problems. The *Modern Review* is, on the other hand, of a more popular character, as its articles which are illustrated, are not confined to the Indian Empire but deal with a wider range of subjects. It is well produced and has a wide circulation in Bengal, where it appeals to the moderate section of the party of educational reform and social progress. The *Indian Review*, which is issued from the press of the well-known publishers Messrs Natesan and company of Madras, also occupies a high place among Indian periodicals. Its interest is mainly sociological and almost entirely Indian, and it is of value as a temperate exponent of reform in Indian administration. The *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* and *the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* are important contributions to the ethnological and philosophical literature of India."

The great event of the coming publishing season will be the issue of the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The time of the publication will be about the beginning of November, next, when, in contrast with the earlier method of publishing one volume at a time, no less than fourteen volumes of the twenty-eight over which the new edition will extend, including the Index, will see the light and will be followed in about three month's time by the remaining volumes. It may be said at once of the great venture, to which Mr. Hugh Chisholm and his able staff have devoted eight laborious years, that, first, it will be essentially a new work—in one volume, for example, not more than sixteen per cent. of the old material has been used—and, secondly, that it is authoritative throughout. Its fifteen hundred contributors cover all the learned institutions of the world and include a great body of practical workers and experts in their departments of thought and life. Many of these first-class authorities have written not only the longer articles but the brief notices which are usually assigned to less accomplished students. In a word the new *Encyclopædia Britannica* will represent a thoroughly fresh and complete work of specialisation. These are the chief and most important characteristics of the literary side of the venture. The great mechanical novelty will be an edition issued on India paper,—besides the one on ordinary paper—in a form in which a volume of over nine hundred pages can be read and even turned back on its cover with the greatest ease. A further advantage is cheapness. Each volume will be

issued at a little more than half of the price of its predecessor. It may safely be declared that each department of knowledge which the *Encyclopædia* will deal with has been placed in the hands of writers thoroughly equipped for the task of interpreting it to the English-knowing world. The work, as a whole, is beyond doubt a very great feat of British scholarship and literary organisation. By the way, the late King Edward VII may fairly be regarded as a contributor to the new edition of the *Encyclopædia*. During the writings of the article on "orders" he not only allowed his private collection to be photographed, but, when the illustrating blocks had been made he himself made the selection which will appear in the article. The new edition will be published by the Cambridge University Press, the copyright having been acquired by the University of Cambridge.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., of New York and London, announce a new publication, called the *American Year-Book for 1910*, which will be published in February, 1911, and which is now in preparation. This will be an annual summary of American national events, but will include also some account of the most important happenings in foreign countries. The chairman of the board of supervisors of this publication is Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, and the managing editor is Mr. S. N. D. North, recently director of the United States Census. The new annual is intended to take the place of the same firm's defunct publication—*Appleton's Annual*—which extended over a long series of years and which is yet of great value to the student of history.

The great series of the forty-nine volumes of *the Sacred Books of the East* has at length been worthily brought to its completion by *A General Index to the Names and Subject-Matter of the Sacred Books of the East*, compiled by Professor M. Winternitz, to which an Introduction is added by Professor A. A. Macdonell. From the outset of his work, which began in 1894, Professor Winternitz aimed at producing " an analytical Index, with extracts and even verbal quotations, from which the student, with the least possible trouble, might see to which volume and page he had to refer for any information he might want." The result of this design lies before us in a massive volume of 683 closely-printed pages, in which every name and topic occurring in the translations of the sacred books of Hindus, Chinese, and Arabs is methodically and lucidly catalogued, with its proper reference number. The work is thus, in the author's words, " a scientific classification of religious phenomena," as well as of a vast number of subjects of law and sociology, which have come within the purview of oriental religions. Almost every theme of the latter is thus brought within the focus of a comparative survey, in which the facts of the various religions are grouped among themselves, and brought into association with one another with a perfect lucidity and a complete absence of obscuring theories. Professor Macdonell remarks, in his Preface: " If I were asked to select any one of the fifty volumes of *the Sacred Books of the East*, as specially useful, I should certainly choose the last." Students, we think, will agree with him. The volume under notice has been printed like the other volumes of the series to which it belongs, at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and is published by its London agent, Mr. Henry Frowde, at the Oxford University Warehouse, Amen Corner, London.

The great *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* has been delayed in its progress by two calamities. In 1898 its vigorous founder and editor, Professor Georg Buhler, met with a tragic death, and recently Professor Franz Kielhorn, his worthy successor, also passed away. But under the energetic guidance of Professors Luders and Wackernagel the work is now being actively pushed on again, and a welcome instalment has just been issued in the *Vedic Grammar* of Professor A. A. Macdonell. This solid volume of 456 closely-printed pages is the first treatise in which attempt has been made to present a detailed account of the grammar of the Vedic langnage, as used in the Mantra portions of the Vedic Samhitas, without reference to the later classical Sanskrit and its forerunner, the Brahmana language of the Taittiriya, Kathaka, and Maitrayari Samhitas. The work naturally falls under the heads of phonology, euphonic combination, accentuation, nominal stem-formation, compounds, declension, verb-system, and indeclinables, under which practically all the linguistic *data* are methodically and exhaustively marshalled, with a due account of the latest philological theories. It is a work of immense labour, but the profit of future generations of students will be in direct proportion to the toil of its learned author, to whom our sincere congratulations are due on the successful accomplishment of his great task.

The paper read by Dr. Garfield Williams before the Calcutta Missionary Conference, on "The Indian Student and the Present Discontent" last year, attracted much attention in England as well as India It will be remembered that *The Times* and *The Spectator* of London both had extended comments on the paper. It has now been published in pamphlet form by Messrs Hodder and Stoughton of London, at six pence, and will, we doubt not, arouse increased interest in the cause for which it was written. The Calcutta student needs all the help that is in any way available. We commend Dr. Williams's exposition of the subject to all interested in Indian education and our students.

As the copyright of Lecky's great work, the *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, will expire in October, Messrs Longmans, Green & Co of London and Bombay, the holders of the copyright, have just brought out a one-volume, half-a crown edition of the whole work, in view of the competition for cheaper reprints. The book is neatly printed and nicely got up and should appeal to educated Indians, as hitherto it has been issued in two volumes of over 400 pages each at 10s. *net* As soon as the copyright expires next month, Messrs. Watts and Co. will bring out an even yet cheaper edition, under the auspices of the Rationalist Press Association of London. This edition also will be unabridged, and will comprise two volumes, published at 6d. each; it will also be issued in one volume, in a strong paper cover, at 1s. *net*, or in cloth at 1s. 6d. *net*.

A notable addition to Indian periodicals will be made by the appearance of *Modern Behar*, on October 1st. It will appear monthly and will be published at Bankipore, the civil station of Patna, the ancient and historic capital of the province of Behar. It will be conducted by an Editorial Board of some prominent Beharee youngmen, under the guidance of several leading public men of the province of Behar. Except current politics, *Modern Behar* will deal with all other questions conducive to Indian progress and will print contributed

and editorial articles, specially such as are likely to lead to the formation of sound, healthy and wholesome opinions among young Indians The first number will contain an article on the Hindu Mussalman question by the Hon'ble Mr Mazharul Haque, besides five others on topics of current and permanent interest. In addition to these, there will appear reviews of books, editorial comments on current topics, as also notes on Art, Science and Letters and other subjects of interest to youngmen *Modern Behar* will be neatly printed and decently got up and its annual subscription, inclusive of postage, has been fixed at Rs 2 and for students at Re 1 Those intending to subscribe should apply to The Manager, *Modern Behar* P O Mithapore Bankipore

We have more than once commended the enterprise of the *Times of India* in offering the public the cheapest and best illustrated journal in this country, in their *Times of India Illustrated Weekly* We are glad to announce that their enterprise is to give us before long a Christmas Number of the *Illustrated Weekly* From an advance copy received it is safe to say that the publication is likely to be unique and that it will be a welcome addition to Christmas literature. Its contents will include seven coloured plates which will be beautiful works of art, three of which will be devoted to Calcutta and Bombay and the rest to the illustration of Himalayan scenery the magnificent architectural remains of the Hindu and the Moghul and pastoral life on the North West frontier, besides a number of articles with scores of pictures Lights and shadows of Indian life and work and play in various parts of the country, will be graphically described by practiced pens and copiously illustrated Comprising as it will more than a hundred pages of beautifully illustrated and vividly written letter press, printed on art paper, it will be an ideal Christmas Number and has been cheaply priced at one rupee Intending purchasers should at once write for a copy to the publisher *Times of India* Bombay

The Parsi New Year's number of the Vartman *samj* is as usual very instructive and interesting It runs to over 200 pages and contains one of the leading Anglo Gujerati dailies of Bombay numerous informing articles from the pens of various writers of note These embrace varied topics from history philosophy and religious to literature and politics An article by the Hon Mr Justice Beaman on "Recollections of old days in Kathiawar" describes picturesquely the daring affairs of the outlaws which were an every day occurrence in the Province only, thirty or forty years ago Professor Jackson of Columbia University, contributes an article relating the experiences of a journey in Persia This is full of interest Articles on commercial education by the Hon'ble Mr Manmohandas Ramji, on free and compulsory primary education by the Hon Mr Ibrahim Rahimtulla, and on Moslem education by the Hon Mr Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy are of more general interest to Indian readers In the editorial columns appreciative sketches of Lord Minto and Sir George Clarke appear The illustrations are very varied and numerous. Full page photographs of the late King Emperor, the Queen Mother, King George V, and Queen Mary. Lord Hardinge and Sir George Clarke appear and another very interesting portrait is one of Mrs Reynolds, whom Sir George Clarke is about to marry. The number is beautifully printed and attractively got up The front page bears a picture of a Parsi girl at prayer Altogether, the New Year's number

of *Sanj Vartman* is a thing of beauty and joy for ever. We heartily congratulate the proprietors on its production.

Prithibir Itihasha—Babu Durga Das Lahiri, late of *The Bangabashi*, has undertaken to adorn Bengali literature with a comprehensive history of of the world. No other Indian language can claim a work of this kind which is to be published in 30 volumes. The first volume is out and the expenses of its printing have been borne by the Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi. This volume which deals with early India is characterised by originality and great researches. Relying on the ancient shastras—Babu Durgadas has thoroughly ransacked the Vedas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas, Upanishadas, the Vedangas, the Smritis, Shrutres and what not? The author has very cleverly dealt with his themes. The chapter on Rulers and the Ruled throws a flood of light on this subject which amply repays a thorough perusal and in view of the present-day situation, we should ask our readers who know Bengalee to read it, which shows that anarchy and sedition are repugnant to Hindu notions and contrary to the injunction of the Shastras. We wish the author all success in this herculean venture.

TOPICS OF THE DAY.

"Long Live Dadabhai Naoroji" The Commerce and Education Members of the Government of India—The Hon'ble Mr. S P. Sinha's Resignation—His Work as a Councillor—Who should successed Mr. Sinha?—The proposed extension of Sir John Hewetts' service—The Mackarness-Montague Controversy. The position and prospects of the Indian Civil Service—The Budget Debate in the House of Commons—The Indian Question in the Transvaal—The late Hon'ble Mr. Perraju—Mussalmans and Sanskrit.

I.

"LONG live Dadabhai Naoroji." Such is the exclamation with which the country has rung again, from end to end, on the occasion of the 86th birthday—on the 4th of September—of our Grand Old Man. That millions of his loving countrymen should rejoice and be filled with enthusiasm on so auspicious an event, is but in the fitness of things, for who amongst living Indians deserves greater honour, sincerer respect and more whole-hearted love than our "dear old Dadabhai"—the political patriarch of our race, *the father of constitutional agitation in our country and the greatest political leader of modern India,* whose brilliant career and selfless personality stand out in bold relief as unique and splendid even in the long muster-roll of the eminent Indians of the nineteenth century? There are no two opinions that no Indian has done more for the political enfranchisement of his people than Mr. Naoroji and it is but right and proper that the recurring birth-day anniversaries (may they yet be many!) of this venerable and stainless *rishi*—pure in body and mind, a truly homeric figure, with a head covered with the snow of years but with a heart still aglow with the fire of youth—should be celebrated with splendid enthusiasm from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Absolutely selfless, intensely absorbed in the one cause ever dear to his heart—the service of his Motherland—full of self-sacrifice and sincerely devoted to national well-being and progress, no Indian can more justly demand and more fittingly receive his country's loving allegiance than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and in the fullest conviction that his appeal to his countrymen will heartily be responded to, we reproduce below the full text of the Message that the Grand Old Man has issued on the occasion of his last birthday—a message embodying lessons of Truth and Hopefulness to all to whom it is addressed:—

I offer my most heart-felt thanks to all my friends in India, England and South Africa who have sent me their kind congratulations and good wishes on

my 86th birth-day. I am sorry that the past year was not free from violence. I again repeat not to resort to violence. I have said our grievances are many and they are just. Maintain the struggle for essential reforms with unceasing endeavour and self-sacrifice, peacefully, patiently, perseveringly and appeal without fear or faltering to the conscience and righteousness of the British nation. I feel from passing events and declarations that there is good hope that the appeal will bear fruit in such measures of successive reforms as would fulfil Indian rights and aspirations.

II.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale pointed out in the course of his brilliant speech on the Seditious Meetings Act Continuation Bill, how the personnel of the Government of India had almost completely changed during the last two or three years. Since we last wrote on the subject, in the July issue, in noticing the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Carlyle as the Member in charge of the Revenue and Agriculture Department, the two other appointments anticipated at the time have been duly and formally announced. The bitter, acrimonious and undignified agitation that was carried on for weeks, by almost all the leading Anglo-Indian papers has received its quietus by the announcement by Mr. Montagu, in the course of his speech on the Budget debate, of the appointment of Mr. H. W. Clark, C. M G., of the Board of Trade, to be Member for Commerce and Industry. Mr. Clark is decidedly young for the post, having seen the light on the New Year's day of 1876, but his record shows that he has had a deal of experience of public affairs and his being only in his thirty-fourth year, need not necessarily have been so serious a disadvantage as to have rendered him disqualified for the post. The argument that his fellow-competitors at the Civil Service—Home, Indian and Colonial—are still holding junior offices is futile, for so many divergent considerations enter into such appointments that nothing can be gained from pressing the question of the length of one's service. The appointment has been exploited to make out that it is likely to make the Indian Civil Service unpopular. There is no substance in the objection, unless it be assumed that the whole fabric of our administration is intended for providing loaves and fishes to the Indian Civil Service. As a matter of fact, the requisite statutary number of appointments reserved for the Indian Civil Service, has been brought up to the prescribed standard by the revival of the sixth membership—which had been, in abeyance since the abolition of the post of the Military Supply Member on the 1st of April last year—and by the appointment of Mr. S. H. Butler, the Foreign Secretary, as the first Member in charge of Education. But for the difficulty created by the statute fixing

the number of Indian Civilians at three in the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Education Membership might have more appropriately gone to some distinguished educationalist, like Sir Theodore Morison. But Mr. Butler is so pre-eminently cut out for the headship of such a department, that we are sincerely delighted at its having fallen to his lot. The lift is undoubtedly great in less than three years from a Deputy Commissionership to the Membership of the Supreme Executive Council, but that fact in itself, if only rightly appreciated, is the highest testimony to the work and worth of the new member. The misgivings that were felt in certain quarters on the occasion of his translation from Lucknow to the Foreign Office, in January, 1908, have long since given place to a recognition of his sterling merits—which to all of us in the United Provinces are too well-known—his high intellectuality and versatility, great administrative ability and powers of organisation, prodigious capacity for work, a generous enthusiasm for advancing the cause of Indian education and above all a genuine sympathy with the people of this country, as also with the reasonable and legitimate aspirations of educated Indians. Besides, Mr. Butler is a scholar, a thinker and a man of letters and his report of the last Famine Commission—which was presided over by Sir Anthony (now Lord) MacDonnell is a monument of his remarkable capability. It is singularly fortunate that the new Viceroy shall have the benefit of the co-operation of so gifted and capable a colleague and so genuine a friend of the people of this country. Mr. Butler's appointment is the happiest augury for the success of the new department, the creation of which is fraught with immense potentialities for good to our people. To us it is also, on personal grounds, a matter of sincere gratification, Mr. Butler being one of the most valued contributors to the *Hindustan Review.*

III

The announcement that the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha, the Law Member, has expressed a desire to be relieved of his office in November next, has not unnaturally attracted considerable attention, both here and in the United Kingdom, and it has elicited various criticisms, some of which, unfortunately, is singularly mischievous. The *Times*—which of all papers is expected to be well-informed—in a leading article, has declared, that the avowed reason for his resignation is a "purely superficial one" and it has gone further and insinuated that "the public is left to guess what pressure from below—from the disaffected members of his own race—has forced Mr. Sinha to give up the greatest political prize that

has ever fallen to a native of India under British rule." This libellous statement is quite in keeping with the new traditions of the *Times* and its anti-Indian attitude, since it came under Lord Northcliff's control. Unfortunately for it, however, the lie it tried to circulate, could have only twenty-four hours' start, before Mr. Dunne, till recently one of the leaders of the Calcutta Bar, nailed it to the counter, the very next day, in a letter to that paper, declaring that the suggession "assumes too much and is obviously due to a great misapprehension of facts relating to this appointment." He then set forth what is known to every body out here that Mr. Sinha never hankered after the post, nor did he jump to the offer, but that he simply accepted it at enormous self-sacrifice, solely actuated by a feeling of doing good to the land of his birth, by establishing a great constitutional precedent, and with a desire to revert to the bar, so soon as his object was attained. Even Mr. Valentine Chirol, the special correspondent of the *Times*, felt bound to repudiate the *Times*' suggestion and to set the facts in their true light. We trust the *Times* will not again indulge in such false statements, which it evidently did to discredit Lords Morley and Minto. Another statement, no less mischievous, was circulated by the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*—in a communication to that paper—to the effect that there was "a belief general in India that Mr. Sinha was in a minority of one when the question of repressive legislation was brought before the Council" and also that "he has been obliged to recognize that, for the present, the Viceroy's Indian adviser may not hope for admission to the inner circle of the supreme executive." This erroneous statement is calculated to produce no less mischievous an effect than that given currency to by the *Times*, for it tries to make out the most valuable concession to our demand for a share in the initiation of the policy of the Government as nullified, in effect, by the existence of some "inner circle," apart from the Executive Council. We are glad that an official contradiction of the baseless suggestion has been issued from Simla but lest any of our countrymen may be lured into such belief, we may state on high authority that the existence of such an "inner circle" or any exclusion of Mr. Sinha from the counsels of the Government, is a pure and simple fabrication. If there is any such thing as an "inner circle," it is absolutely untrue that Mr. Sinha has not been admitted into it. He has been as fully into the secrets of the Government as any of his other colleagues. Nor is it true that he has chosen to resign because of any differences with his colleagues

over any question of administration or legislation, as it is understood that it has not happened—as suggested by the *Manchester Guardian's* London correspondent—that Mr. Sinha was ever "in a minority of one." On the contrary, we may state, with confidence, that there have been Members in Council who have always supported him, and that he has, throughout the tenure of his office, enjoyed in a pre-eminent degree the fullest confidence of Lord Minto and his colleagues and has always been in closest touch with the so-called "inner circle" of the Government.

A year and a half back when the question of appointing an Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council was under consideration, the vast bulk of the Anglo-Indian journals declared that no one eligible for the post was available and they portended grave disasters if one was appointed. And now—at any rate so far as Mr. Sinha is concerned—they are unanimous in their praise of the good work he has placed to his credit. Thus the *Pioneer* :—

That Mr Sinha has performed his duties as part of the Government of India conscientiously, faithfully and with no small measure of success, that his advice loyally and straightforwardly given, has been of the utmost value to his colleagues, will readily be acknowledged by the whole official world of Simla, who will be the first to regret his severance from the inner counsels of the Government, while recognising the personal sacrifices Mr. Sinha has made in consenting to become the instrument whereby an important constitutional precedent has been established

And thus its twin-brother of Lahore, the *Civil and Military Gazette* :—

Both officially and socially Mr. Sinha's retirement will be greatly regretted. Alike in the Executive and on the Legislative Council, his work has been of the highest order, and he has won the confidence of his colleagues and of all who have come in contact with him in a very marked degree In these respects his official career has fulfilled the highest expectations of his friends. Mr. Sinha has demonstrated that there are Indian lawyers capable of filling one of the highest offices in the Government with success. Nobody doubted it.

And here is the testimony of that Extremist Anglo-Indian paper, the *Madras Times* :—

Mr. Sinha has the respect and confidence of all races in India. We have always fought against the principle of placing an Indian on the Executive Councils, owing to the extraordinary difficulty of finding any one with sufficient ability and one whose appointment would not arouse fierce jealousies and distrust. Mr. Sinha was the one man who could fill the post without these drawbacks.

Yet one more appreciation of Mr. Sinha's capacity and talents, from the *Times'* special correspondent, Mr. Valentine Chirol, in the course of his letter, referred to above :—

Mr. Sinha's resignation is much to be regretted in the public interest; for his discharge of the duties attaching to his post has gone far to reconcile those who, like myself, had misgivings as to the wisdom of calling any Indian into the Viceroy's Executive Council, and chiefly on the very grounds which have been erroneously suggested as an explanation of Mr. Sinha's resignation.

Such declarations from other Anglo-Indian sources could easily be multiplied, but they are sufficient for the purpose of establishing our point, that even the stoutest opponents of the appointment of an Indian to the Executive Council now unhesitatingly declare that the appointment of Mr. Sinha has been a complete success and that the great experiment—the greatest, perhaps, in the history of our constitutional progress—has been tried and been a distinct success, thanks to the great self-sacrifice and devotion to public interests of the first Indian Law Member. In the face of such unanimous testimony of Mr. Sinha's genuine patriotism in having firmly established this great constitutional precedent at an immense self-sacrifice, we have been pained to find him rather savagely attacked, for not serving for the full period of five years, in a Calcutta monthly—the *Indian World.* The same periodical, some months back, did the editor of this *Review* the honour of describing him as "a wee bit antiquated in his political ideas." No doubt, that must be so, for the "political ideas" of which the *Hindustan Review* is and has ever been an exponent, can not make us approve of the policy of making personal attacks like the one indulged in against Mr. Sinha, based on grounds which, however wellfounded in the light of transcendental and exalted idealistic conceptions of life, are none the less the flimsiest owing to their being wholly out of relation with the hard realities of our work-a-day world. We commend to the *Indian World* the following observations of its Calcutta contemporary of the *Modern Review*, which we think are an effective rejoinder to its "tanscendental nonsense."

Some journalistic wise-acres have preached to Mr. Sinha, a sermon on self-sacrifice, calling upon him to emulate the examples of Messrs. Asquith, Haldane and Llyod George, who have sacrificed their large professional incomes in order to be able to serve their country as cabinet ministers. Did it never occur to these 'superior' journalists that Mr. Sinha's initiative and other powers are not even a tenth of what these cabinet ministers enjoy? We suppose no body is bound to sacrifice a princely income for the form of the thing; there is no virtue in doing so. Not to speak of Mr. Sinha, many Indian men of lesser note would glady sacrifice all their income if they could exercise without let or hindrance even half the power of doing good to the nation, which British cabinet ministers enjoy.

We agree with the *Modern Review* and have no hesitation in saying that the sacrifice undergone by Mr. Sinha is more than

what, in the circumstances of the country, could have reasonably been expected of even the most patriotic son of India. Mr. Sinha has been tried in the balance and been *not* found wanting. Nor has India been found wanting, thanks to the talents, devotion and sacrifice of the first Indian Member of the Executive Council. The precedent has been now fully established that there ought to be, at least, one Indian in every Executive Council and thus Mr. Sinha's primary object having been attained, he retires from his arduous labours amidst the universal good wishes of his people, whom he has placed under "a debt immense of endless gratitude."

V.

The question that is now agitating the public mind is that of the appointment of Mr. Sinha's successor. The Anglo-Indian papers are saying very much the same kind of thing as they were when Mr. Sinha was appointed. There was no eligible Indian then, there is none now, they say, to succeed Mr. Sinha. "In the India of today" declares the *Pioneer* "there are but few Indian gentlemen of Mr. Sinha's character and qualifications." "It would be difficult to quote Mr. Sinha's success as justifying the appointment of Indians to Executive Councils." And in the same strain writes Mr. Valentine Chirol :—"The number of Indians who have assimilated as fully as Mr. Sinha the best features of a western education is, I fear, still very limited and it will not be easy to find a successor with his qualifications." All this and much more to the same effect is being written with a view to embarras the Government and prevent, if possible, the appointment of another Indian. But in this the opponents of Indian progress are reckoning without their host, for we may take it as practically certain that Mr. Sinha will be succeeded by a countryman of his. The only question is on whom the choice should fall. Unfortunately a large number of competent and otherwise eligible persons are disqualified under the statutory provision which limits the choice for the appointment to English or Irish Barristers or Scotch Advocates, of five years' standing. That being so and considering that in fairness to the non-Hindu communities, the post should go to one of these—provided, of course, that a qualified person is available—the choice seems to be limited to but two or three persons. Speaking for ourselves we would have much rather preferred not saying anything on the personal merits or demerits of the candidates, but we fear we have no option in the matter, as the names are being freely discussed in the papers and our silence might be construed or rather misconstrued and it may be a case of letting judgment go by default.

The *Advocate of India*—an Anglo-Indian daily of Bombay—has backed up Mr. Justice Davar and declared that of the names mentioned his "will best commend itself to all on this side of India." In regard to Mr. Davar, we have nothing to say against him—no, not even that which in the *Pioneer's* opinion seems to be his disqualification, namely "his too pronounced pro-British sympathies"!— but we think there is considerable force in the following remarks of the *Indian Daily News* :—

> Mr. Justice Davar's appointment would be unexceptionable, if he were not a judge. They do these things differently in Burma. Once a judge always a judge, is a sound rule, and should never be departed from. To convert a judgeship into a stepping stone for preferment in the Executive Government would be to degrade the judicial office. Mr. Justice Davar is an excellent judge : let him continue to adorn the Bench.

For the above reasons we would not support Mr. Davar's translation from Bombay to Calcutta and Simla and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta being much too spirited "an animal" to be driven jocund in a team, there remain only two other prospective candidates—both Mussalmans—namely the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali and the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam. The organs of the Muslim League have already set up a clamourous agitation for the appointment of the Rt. Hon'ble gentleman and there can be little doubt that if he cares to return to India, his influence and high position will stand him in good stead. But there is one important consideration which ought not to be—and, we are sure, can not be—overlooked by the Government. It is—to quote the *Pioneer*—that "any selection with the object of gratifying a particular community" should be so made, as "will not result in displeasing every one outside it." That, to our mind, is a sound principle and it is therefore that we demur to the appointment of Mr. Ameer Ali. It is obvious that by reason of his having taken a prominent part in the aggressively militant policy of the advanced wing of the Muslim League and the truculence with which he conducted the campaign, Mr. Ameer Ali is by no means a *persona grata* with the educated Hindoo community, to whom his appointment can never be acceptable. We hope, therefore, that the Government's choice will fall on the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, who also is a Muslim Leaguer, but, who has nevertheless managed to retain the confidence of all classes of his countrymen by his broad-mindedness and a spirit of fairness to all sections of the people. He represents that small but more moderate and liberal section of the League, which is not opposed to co-operation with the non-Muslims and last year he

strongly supported the scheme of mixed electorates, in the face of much contumely and obloquy at the hands of his less advanced fellow-relegionists. Such a man deserves well both at the hands of the Government and the people.

VI.

A controversy in which the personal element naturally enters, to some extent, has kept us very much "alive and kicking," for now some weeks past. It relates to a proposed memorial for the extension of Sir John Hewett's tenure of office by one year more. It will expire in ordinary course in November 1911 and the suggestion is that its duration may be extended till the end of 1912. The ball was set rolling by the publication of a letter on the subject by the Nawab of Rampur in the columns of the *Pioneer*; it was, of course, followed by a communication from the Maharaja of Balrampur; after which almost every Maharaja, Raja, Nawab, Khan Bahadur, and Rai Bahadur had his innings, till our local contemporary felt compelled to cry halt. Some of these gentlemen also addressed their letters to the *Leader*, the writer who brought up the rear being the Hon'ble Raja Partap Bahadur Singh C. I. E " of Fort Partapgarh, Oudh," who said that he was gratified to find that "influential gentlemen having a substantial stake in these provinces" had supported the Nawab of Rampur's proposal. The Hon'ble Raja, who himself is very "substantial," has no doubt interpreted the situation to the best of his lights and he is by no means to blame when he is backed up by the *Pioneer* which, in closing the correspondence in its columns, declared that it has "abundantly brought out the universality and strength of public sentiment in the Provinces upon the subject" and that "it is clear that there is only one feeling among the substantial classes, who in Agra and Oudh are the classes that really represent public opinion". We have no quarrel with any one for declaring that those whom the *Pioneer* calls the "substantial classes" are of one mind on the subject. There is nothing surprising in that, but we do question the *Pioneer's* right to identify—and we do so on broader grounds and not only with especial reference to the present question—the views and opinions of what it calls the "substantial classes" with "public opinion." The "substantial classes"—"substantial " in the sense we suppose, given to the word by the famous Anglo-Indian satirist, "Aliph Cheem," as those who have "plenty allowance of tin but slender allowance of brain"—may have every right to speak on their own behalf but we absolutely deny their right to speak in the name of the classes whose opinion should have most weight in public affairs, namely, the middle classes composed of

the educated community. It is strange that, of the letters printed on the subject, we do not remember to have come across even a single communication from any representative of the middle classes, not only from amongst the Hindus but, curiously enough, not even from amongst the Mussalmans. Nor has the proposal received support—even Anglo-Indian—from any other quarter outside these provinces, except from the Rip Van Winkle of the *Hindoo Patriot* of Calcutta, which from its "sleepy hollow" has called it by a travesty of reasoning, as a "popular wish" and declared that the announcement of Sir John's extension "will be received with outbursts of joy by all classes of the people in the United Provinces." That the *Hindoo Patriot* is in blissful ignorance of the true state of affairs in these provinces—as, we fear, of most other things it professes to know—will be apparent to those who have followed the discussion of the subject in the editorial columns of our ably conducted contemporary of the *Leader*, which in a couple of excellently-conceived editorials has analysed the situation with remarkable fairness and moderation. We are disposed to agree with our contemporary that though it may be a very reasonable and proper desire on the part of Sir John's friends and admirers in the "substantial classes" to secure his extension, there is no justification for the view—*pace* the *Pioneer*—that it is the general public opinion of these provinces. The fact of the matter is that efficient, energetic and hard-working a ruler as Sir John has proved himself to be and large as the amount of good that he has done to the people committed to his care, particularly in matters of education and industrial developement, he has proved in many matters so "strong," that his very strength has constituted his weakness. To put it shortly, the educated middle classes have received but scant consideration at his hands. The fact is writ large on the scheme formulated by him under the Reform Act of last year and this has materially affected for the worse the potentialities for good of the reconstituted Provincial Council and the effect of its defective constitution has been felt in its inevitable resultant in the election to the Imperial Council. The educated classes are, therefore, by no means keen about the proposal. If Sir John gets the extension and cares to stay amongst us for a year longer, he will receive from the representatives of the educated classes all the assistance and loyal co-operation he may seek from them, but there is obviously no cause for any enthusiasm for a departure from the time-honoured tradition which limits the tenure to

five years and which, whenever it has been departed from, has not been associated with the happiest of results. One word more. When Lord Curzon got an extension on the very grounds which are now being pressed in service by the proposers in the present instance, the *Pioneer* attacked it in vehement language declaring that there was no such thing as finality in public affairs and matters of administration and that the policy of the Government being continuous, the schemes initiated by a ruler were bound to be carried out by his successors. Matters of administration, said our contemporary, were not like compiling a dictionary, which may be said to require the man in charge of it to see it through. And so forth and so on in similar strain. And yet when the old arguments which it condemned but a few years back are reiterated in its own columns, it tacitly accepts them. Verily, lucky are those who are blessed with a conveniently short memory!

VII.

In concluding our review, in the July number, of the controversy about the suppression of Mr. Mackarness's pamphlet on the Indian police, we fear, we were unwise enough to say that "we hope we have not heard the last of this matter." Now that we have heard so much of it that "earth is sick and heaven is weary" of it, we very much wish we had not expressed the wish we did For since we wrote last on the subject, the controversy has raged between the combatants with a zeal and even acerbity on the part of Mr. Montague, the Under-Secretary, which we cannot but regret. To begin with, questions were asked on the subject at the sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla last month, when shuffling answers, by no means satisfactory, were vouchsafed by the Home Secretary in reply to the interpellations and Mr Gokhale said so in his speech the next day on the Seditious Meetings Act Continuation Bill. A few days later, Mr. Montagu in making his speech on the Indian budget in the House of Commons, made an attack on Mr. Mackarness' pamphlet which—in the words of our contributor in the last issue—was "whole-hearted, thorough and bitter." A perusal of this portion of Mr. Montagu's speech, the text of which has since arrived, has satisfied us that the writer of the sketch in our last number did not err on the side of exaggeration. Now, though Mr. Keir Hardie and others defended Mr. Mackarness, he is not the man to have taken it lying low and so he took up the cudgels on his own behalf and published a number of communications to the leading papers showing up the fallacies of Mr. Montagu and otherwise exposing his sophistries. This proved too much for the

Under-Secretary of State for India, who deliverd a long oration at Cambridge traducing Mr. Mackarness and reverting to the attack on the much-maligned pamphlet. But it turned out to be a case of protesting too much. This is how it struck even the *Pioneer* :

Mr. Montagu, the estimable Under-Secretary for India, would seem to be suffering from an aggravated attack of Mackarnitis. Having effectually slain the late Member for Newbury in his Budget speech, Mr. Montague, must now return to the lifeless remains and trample them into a jelly at Cambridge. This proceeding partakes of savagery, and is not good tactics. To toss and gore Mr. Mackarness with the persistency of Mr. Montagu must merely produce amongst the outside world, in England as in India, the impression that the sinner has somehow scored. Why else should the India Office be so angry?

Capital—or rather "Max" in that journal—had the following comments :—

I do not think there is anything more seditious in the pamphlet of Mr. Mackarness than is contained in Sir Bampfylde Fuller's *Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment.* If the Calcutta Custom House appraiser had seen these "seditious" sentiments, he would instantly have confiscated the book. Why has Simla not forbidden Sir Bampfylde's book? Simply because they feel rather foolish over their action in regard to Mr. Mackarness pamphlet, and, secondly, because a returning sense of humour is beginning to steal over them.

It is obvious from the above extracts from two of the leading Anglo-Indian journals that young Mr. Montagu had failed to carry conviction. But Mr. Mackarness did not let the grass grow under his feet. He returned to the indictment again in communications to the Press and seems to have effectively silenced the loquacity of Lord Morley's assistant. The episode has developed into a huge newspaper controversy and almost every paper in the United Kingdom has had its say upon the subject. The net result, thus, of the thoughtless policy of the Government in suppressing the pamphlet has been to give it a most extensive advertisement—free and gratuitous—which it could not have otherwise obtained. Its one effect has been to invite the serious and earnest attention of the British press to the crucial problems connected with the Indian police, which was surely not the object aimed at by those responsible for suppressing the pamphlet. If it had been quietly allowed to circulate here—only a few copies were sent out to this country—it would not have produced even a tithe of the result its suppression has done. On the whole, the result will be beneficial and is bound to lead to improvements in our police force. Thus Mr. Mackarness has done another public service to India and the Indian's in England did but their duty by him in entertaining him at a luncheon in recognition of his work as a true friend of India.

VIII.

Certain recent incidents have helped in drawing attention to the position and prospects of the Indian Civil service. We have referred above as to how Mr. Clark's appointment as a Member of the Supreme Executive Council has been exploited by the Anglo-Indian press as an insidious attack on the prospects and consequent attractions of the "celestial" service, and echoes of this view were heard even in the course of the Indian budget debate in the House of Commons. Then there have been some changes recently made in the regulations for the Indian Civil Service under which successful candidates will have better opportunities for acquiring a knowledge of Indian languages, before coming out to this country. But more than any of these the speech delivered by Lord Curzon at the last Indian Civil Service dinner and the rejoinder to it by Sir Herbert Risley, have naturally attracted considerable attention. As usual Lord Curzon delivered a carefully prepared oration full of Curzonisms, some of which might be noticed. A great deal of such orations need not be scrutinized, as a guest is in common courtesy bound to say nice and flattering things of his hosts, after having enjoyed their genial hospitality. When you have partaken of your host's sumptuous banquet, your after-dinner speech across the walnuts and the wine or over coffee and cognac need not be scanned otherwise than with generous lenience. But Fates have evidently decreed that Lord Curzon can scarce open his lips without saying something calculated to wound the susceptibilities of of some one or other. In the present instance he managed to give offence to his hosts—at least to a section of them—as also to educated Indians. That Sir Herbert Risley—speaking some days later at the Winchester dinner—demolished Lord Curzons imaginary grievances of the Indian Civilians, is proof evident of the fact that the ex-Viceroy's observations were distasteful to an important and influential section of his hosts. Lord Curzon had shed tears over the prospect of Civillans being immolated at the altar of the vindictive eloquence of non-official members of the Legislative Councils and had drawn a sorry caricature of the position of Civilians under the Reform Scheme. Sir Herbert Risley—as one who had a prominent share in the shaping of the Reform Regulations looked at the new condition of things from a bold and manly point of view and pointed out that the introduction of a semi-parliamentary system might make the game somewhat more difficult to play but that it was bound to make the game better worth

playing. There is surely a robust optimism about this view, which should be more attractive to the British youth desiring to compete for the Indian Civil Service than the abysmally pessimistic view propounded by Lord Curzon. We are glad Sir Herbert Risley spoke out his mind, otherwise there was a chance of some discontent pervading the ranks of junior Civilians, who may be disposed to accept Lord Curzon's utterances as gospel truth. There were several other things in the speech calculated to serve no ends except those of stirring up discontent among the Civilians and strife and bitterness between them and the educated Indians. Such an effort on the part of Lord Curzon can not too strongly be condemned. Take for instance the famous and highly appreciated declaration of the King-Emperor, on his return from his Indian tour, that there was need for a wider element of sympathy in the administration of this country. It was not meant by His Majesty as a rebuke to the Civil Service but merely as a gracious injunction based upon his experiences and observations. It was not cast as a slur on any body, and yet Lord Curzon by twisting and distorting things implied that it had reference to the Civil Service and on this false premise, he preached a little homily on the injustice of charging the Civilians with want of sympathy with the people. And then he struck up a theatrical attitude and asked with an innocent air, "what is the meaning of being in touch with the people?"—and he himself answered it by saying "we never can be really in touch with the people." How charateristic that of "George Nathaniel Curzon—the superior purzon." For the rest, he indulged in the old, time-worn platitudes about efficiency being the standard of good government and so forth—things we have heard from him many times before. Though all is not for the best now, he said, in the best possible service, it was nevertheless "the *greatest* Civil Service in the world," compared with which the ranks from which Lord Hardinge has been recruited is only "the *great* sister Civil Service"—not the "greatest," please note that there is no superlative in the latter case! His Lordship wanted the Civil Service to last "as long as our rule lasted" and significantly added that "we at any rate, decline to comtemplate its termination." Perfectly right that from his point of view but absolutely impolitic and inexpedient to say so at the present moment, as it is a question beyond the range of practical politics and Time alone can rightly answer it. In conclusion, he proposed the toast of the Indian Civil Service which is "doing the greatest, the biggest, the noblest and the grandest task in the world"—all superlatives, if you

please. To which we may add the following remarks of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as an effective rejoinder to Lord Curzon's wholly one-sided eulogium of the Indian Civil Service :—

It would not only have been a graceful act on the part of Lord Curzon but he would have also told the whole truth, if his lordship gave the people their due share of praise for the orderly administration of India, which has enabled him and others to call the Indian Civil Service "the greatest" in the world. By such an omission it may be contended by many that his lordship did not quite show that love of truth or the greatness of mind which, it is believed characterises every true-born Englishman But although he ignored the people of India altogether, yet the fact is there that the Indian Civil Service would never have secured the proud appellation of "greatest" if it had not been helped by the devotion of the former in establishing peace and order in this vast continent Thus, if the Indian Civil Service is the greatest in the world, the people of India may claim a considerable share of this eulogium, and we have thus every reason to be glad and proud at the compliment Lord Curzon paid to it We hope and trust also that every member of the great service will prove worthy of the noble appellation and act according to its best tradition

IX.

We preferred last month to withhold any comments on the budget debate in the House of Commons rather than commit ourselves to any view on the imperfect information available at the time, in the messages cabled out to this country We printed, however, a graphic sketch of the debate, from the pen of a well-known Indian public man and publicist, who was present in the "distinguished visitor's gallery," and which, by reason of its local colour and vividness, has either *in extenso* or in extracts, been largely reproduced in the press of this country Since then we have received full texts of all the speeches made on the occasion and also seen various comments on them of British journals and the special correspondents of some of the Anglo-Indian papers All critics seem to be unanimous in awarding praise to Mr. Montagu for the admirable manner of the delivery of his address, so much so that he is declared by some to have—so to say, at one bound—risen to the position of *the* coming man of the party. But while that may be so, we fear, we must agree, after a careful perusal of the speech with the critics who say that there is little of originality in it and that it is more or less a *rechauffé* of Lord Morley's speeches supplemented by those of Sir Herbert Risley. The speech bears throughout unmistakeable evidence of its being "his master's voice" and the speaker seems to have preferred to play the part of a phonographic automaton. The correspondent of the *Times of India* writes to that paper that "the speech was no mere echo of the voice of a greater man, for throughout it had upon it the stamp

of originality"—well, we confess we are obtuse enough not to notice it, but he practically gives himself away when he continues that "there were passages of such force and power that they would not have been unworthy of Lord Morley himself." Of course, not. Those who can read between the lines will have no difficulty in accepting the view of the correspondent of the *Empire*, that "the artist was not really Mr. Montagu" but that—at any rate so far as the portion dealing with repressive measures was concerned—"it was Sir Herbert Risley, the sponsor of the measure, who sat in the official's gallery throughout the speech," as "the language was so clearly his." For the rest, Mr. Montagu patronised all and sundry from Lord Minto downwards. His reference to the authority of the Indian Government as an "agency" for the achievements of Lord Morley and his Council, has given umbrage to the Simla world and the *Pioneer*, and has provoked adverse comments in Anglo-Indian circles in England, as also in some London papers, and, to say the least, it was unnecessary and un-called-for. The so-called discussion was opened by Mr Wyndham of the "colossal-ignorance"-of-India fame, who says the *Times of India's* correspodent) "as appeared from one utterance had been coached by Lord Curzon that morning." So that is what Lord Curzon has come to now—from a Viceroy to a coach, from the sublime to the ridiculous. But all the coaching he administered was no good—he had in Mr. Wyndham too dull a pupil—and the latter made a jejune speech, which might have been left unnoticed, but for his singular indiscretion in urging that in the matter of executive councillorships, appointments should have been made on considerations of race and religion and not merely of executive and administrative capacity. It is so monstrous a suggestion that even the *Times of India*—which has chosen to constitute itself almost an organ of the Muslim League—has felt bound to condemn it in emphatic language. Says the Bombay Anglo-Indian daily :—

We should have been glad if there had been more charity in the criticisms offered by the official opposition Mr Wyndham, in regretting that no Mahomedan had been appointed to any of the Executive Councils, committed an error in judgment, since it carried with it the old fallacy that an executive council should be representative of anything save special capacity. It is a misjudgment and it is to be regretted that a politician in the position of Mr. Wyndham, applying himself to the problem with an open mind, was not able to avoid the error of confusing racial representation with executive fitness.

Alas! for Mr. Wyndham. He had better sit at the feet of a more competent coach than Lord Curzon for a sufficient length of time, before he ventures to open his lips again on Indian

questions, for his "colossal ignorance" seems as yet undiminished. For the rest, the discussion was continued on old familiar lines in which the only member, who has come in for praise at the hands of Anglo-Indian correspondents is Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, whom an "exceptionally well-informed correspondent" of the *Times of India* declares "as coming a man, a considerable intellectual force, an original thinker who can see both sides of a question". To him and to his fellow-members, who represented the Indian view of our problems, we are most grateful, but in the present condition of the House of Commons, no substantial results can be expected to accrue. Generally it is only with an active opposition that the Ministry in power can be expected to be vigilant of popular rights and liberties of the people of a dependency like India, but so long as Liberal Ministers as at present—while indulging in Liberal common-places and platitudes enact and support measures which to the lay mind appear as the exact antithesis, the Tory opposition have good reasons to be stolidly indifferent to the questions of Indian administration. Says the *Empire's* correspondent. "The attendance was disgracefully thin as usual, the population of Tory benches was, in particular, extremely sparse and at one time not more than three occupants could be counted and for a time there were hardly twenty members." It was in such a house that the fate of India was decided and yet at the time of voting on Mr. Wedgewood's motion condemning repressive legislation, no less than 277 members rushed from the library and the dining room into the opposition lobby to defeat the resolution, which was supported by only 48 members! The explanation of this situation we had better give in the words of the London representative of the *Empire*, who seems to be the only genuine Liberal in the ranks of Anglo-Indian correspondents in England.—

A Tory friend whom I taxed with his absence, very openly said to me "Why should I bother? Lord Morley is doing in India just what a Conservative Secretary of State would do we would certainly like more repression. but apart from that things are being done very much as we want them" When I repeated this to another friend, who happens to be an extreme Radical, he quoted poetry to me, which he said I could find, if I looked for it, in a forgotten volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The lines he said, were written in the days of King George the Second, but they would do quite well for present application, and here they are.

Oh, what is a whig, sir—oh, what is a whig?
Oh, what is a whig, and a tory?

In search of preferment they'll dance the same jig.
And both tell the very same story.
For a tory's a whig, sir, a tory's a whig,
And a whig makes a very good tory ;
Out of place they look little, when in they look big,
And both tell the very same story.

If it be the case that the greater the truth, the greater the libel, we fear, we can not deny the substantial character of this cynical indictment.

X.

The Indian question in the British Colonies still continues to be one of the most crucial problems of Imperial statesmanship, but, unfortunately, its solution does not seem near at hand. As to the condition of Indians in the American Colonies, we know little and hear seldom, but the glimpses we obtain from time to time are not calculated to be reassuring. The latest instance of their maltreatment in the Canadian Dominion we prefer to give in the words of the *Review of Reviews*, rather than our own :—

The British Empire looks very well on the map, but when it is tested by the ordinary rules, it does not seem to be much of an Empire. Adam Smith regarded an Empire—all the component parts of which did not contribute to their common defence—as a shadowy semblance of an Empire rather than the real thing. But matters are still worse when we are confronted by the impossibility of securing for all the subjects of the King equal justice and free transit through all his dominions beyond the sea. The Indians residing in Canada have preferred a temperate petition to the Government asking that the Dominion Immigration Laws may be amended. Japanese are allowed to enter Canada on showing they possess from £6 to £ 10. No British Indian can land unless he has £ 40, and has come direct from India --which is an impossibility The petitioners say:—"We appeal and most forcibly bring to your notice that no such discriminating laws are existing against us in foreign countries like the United States of America, Germany, Japan aad Africa, to whom we do not owe any allegiance whatsoever." The Indians, I fear, will appeal to deaf ears. Neither in South Africa, Austria nor Canada do His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects enjoy the privileges of citizenship in one common Empire.

Comment on the above is rendered superfluous. In South Africa—especially in the Transvaal—things are even worse, The Government of that colony lately deported abroad sixty Indians, to whom that colony has been a home for generations and where they have their all. They ultimately reached this country and stopped for some weeks amongst us. Their presence naturally roused considerable feelings in Southern and Western India, in which parts of the country they lived during their stay in this land. Mr. H. S. L. Polak did his part as usual nobly and heroically and with the help

of our esteemed friend Mr. G. A. Natesan—to which rising public man of the Southern Presidency are due the grateful acknowledgments of the country, for his notable work in this connection—managed to organize at Madras a most representative public meeting to express India's protest and voice forth India's wrongs and grievances on the subject. The meeting was a thorough success, presided over as it was by one of the foremost and most distinguished leaders of Southern India—Dewan Bahadur, Sir Subramania Iyer K. C. I. E.. It was addressed in eloquent terms by Mrs. Besant, Mr. Aziz Mirza—Secretary All-India Muslim League—and others. It was blessed even by the *Madras Times*, than which there can be no greater proof of the justice of our cause. Some days later Mr. Polak was entertained at Bombay, on the eve of his departure for South Africa, at a public dinner at which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale presided and delivered a notable address on the grievances of India in the matter of the treatment of her children in the British Colonies and paid a warm and well-merited tribute to Mr. Polak's work. Mr. Gokhale then presented a silver tea-set to Mr. Polak—a present from his Bombay admirers—in recognition of his splendid and invaluable services to our cause. Another function held was a meeting of the ladies of Bombay, at which a sum of Rs. 2,500 collected by the organizers was handed over to Mr. Polak. Mr. Polak and the deportees have now left the country for South Africa and we sincerely hope that the latter will fare better on their return. As for Mr. Polak, who has left after more than a year's stay amongst us, it is difficult to over-praise his work and worth. But for his presence in this country it would have been impossible for the workers here to have done half the work that they have been able to do. His presence has been to us a source of inspiration. A perfect vegetarian and a man of most simple habits, his life is a typical example of not only plain living and high thinking, but of combining along with it most useful practical work. His energy and powers of endurance, his perseverence and tenacity of purpose, have extorted admiration from all he has come in contact with, while his robust and splendid optimism in the face of most trying circumstances, has been an object-lesson to all of us. His self-sacrifice and loving devotion to our cause has caused many of us to blush at our apathy, listlessness and indifference to public cause. We want among us public workers of Mr. Polak's type and we therefore hope he will be able to return to India—his second home—before long.

XI.

It is with a deep since of regret that we have learnt of the premature death, at the age of fifty-one, of the Hon'ble Mr. K. Perraju, who was a distinguished south Indian public man and publicist. Born in a middle-class family and without the advantage of university education, he rose by dint of sheer ability, integrity, industry and capacity for sustained work to be not only the acknowleged leader of the bar in Coconada, commanding a large and lucrative practice, but he early came to the front as a rising politician in the public life of the Northern Circars. He retired from the legal profession some years back—a commendable practice which many other Indian lawyers may profitably follow—and founded a well-equipped High School at Ramchandrapur, which he endowed at the cost of half a lakh and which he has left in a flourishing condition. For the rest, this self-made man who owed nothing to any adventitious aids of birth or fortune, was closely identified for the last thirty years with every movement calculated to advance the material and moral well-being of his people and freely subscribed to promote every good cause. He was deeply interested in the advacement of the swadeshi movement and in the beneficent propaganda for the reclamation of the depressed classes. As a publicist he was well-informed and accurate and was particularly well-equipped in revenue and economic problems. His contributions to periodicals and journals were invariably instructive and in him we mourn the loss of a valued contributor to the *Hindustan Review*. He was a prominent Congressman and was in recognition of his services more than once returned to the Provincial Legislative Council, where his accurate knowledge and grasp of facts and figures were of great value and stood him in good stead in the resolutions he latterly moved therein. Altogether, Mr. Perraju's death is a serious loss to the public life of not only the Southern Presidency but of the whole country and it will probably be long before we shall see the like of him, for in him has passed away one of the best types of the educated Indian.

XII.

We confess we have been much surprised to learn that a Mussalman graduate in Calcutta, who took his degree with Honours in Sanskrit and was anxious to continue his studies in that language for his M. A. degree, was refused admittance into the Sanskrit M. A. class, where the Pandits employed by the university deliver lectures on Sanskirt literature and grammar. But surprising as all

this is, we are still more astounded to learn that the university authorities have professed themselves powerless to help the young Mussalman Sanskritist. That such a thing was possible in an enlightened place like Calcutta one could scarcely have believed and that even the European members of the syndicate could not afford the Muhammadan student the relief he sought and to which he was certainly entitled, reflects little credit on the premier university of India. It is not often that we can see eye to eye with the extreme organs of the Muslim League but in this particular matter their complaint seems to us to be absolute just. The well known vernacular journal, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, in drawing the attention of Government to the Calcutta incident and expressing its feelings of extreme regret and annoyance, with which we fully sympathise, points out that at Aligarh there is a chair of Sanskrit, teaching up to the B. A. standard of the Allahabad and Calcutta universities, open to all classes and creeds. This certainly shows the liberal spirit and catholicity of the trustees of the Aligarh College and should certainly be a lesson to the Calcutta university authorities. We hope we have not yet heard the last of the matter. We would respectfully invite the attention of His Excellency the Chancellor, as also of the distinguished vice-Chancellor, Mr Justice Mukerjee

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSION AND COMMENTS.

THE JUVENILE OFFENDER IN INDIA: LAST WORDS.

By Sardar M. V. Kibe M. A,

I HEARTILY welcome the article of Sahibzada Abdul Wahid Khan Saheb, Bar-at-law, on the above subject in the August nnmber of the *Hindustan Review*. Although he calls it a rejoinder to my paper in the June number of the same monthly, it is in part, as may be seen from the remarks of its noble author in its opening paragraph, a complement to my paper. I know that section 562, Cr. P. C. mentions a few other offences which are punishable with more than two years imprisonment, but as after them, it generally refers to offences punishable with that term of imprisonment, to me it appears that the intention of the legislature is that this section is to be applied to the persons convicted of other offences, only when in the opinion of the Judge they do not deserve to be incarcerated in a jail for more than that period. As regards my amendment to it, I think that the Sahibzada Saheb has made out a good case for excluding certain kinds of offences from it. Although such cases may be rare, yet, I must, admit that the principle must be conceded.

The Sahibzada Saheb takes exception to my 'opinion' that the age of criminal responsibility should be more like that of civil responsibility. In this connection I need only remind him that after my article was published, the Home Secretary in England has fixed the age of criminal responsibility to be 21 years, which is exactly the maximum age fixed for civil responsibility in this country. The provision fixing 15 years as the age of an " youthful offender " is rendered nugatory by the rules which lay down that such person should not stay for less than four years in a reformatory school, where he cannot continue after he is 17. As to my addition to section 83 of the I. P C., is it necessary for me to explain that it is intended to apply to cases to which section 562 Cr. P. C. cannot be applied ?

I trust that the Sahibzada Saheb will pardon me for saying that the suggestions made by him in the last paragraph of his letter, besides savouring of socialism, are too utopian to be practicable. In a case, acting under these principles, a judge had sentenced an young offender to pass his time in a reformatory school. In appeal the highest judicial authority in the province held that as the convict had a mother, who was able to give security, he should be entrusted to her charge.

I must thank the Sahibzaba Saheb for having given me an oppurtunity to recur to this subject. Recently there have been some notable pronouncements on it. The most important is the speech delivered by the Right Honourable Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons in explaining his measures on behalf of the youthful offender. The sentiments and arguments expressed therein appear to me to be unexceptionable and I cannot improve upon them. The government of Bengal too have lately expressed certain views on the subject, which are in accordance with mine, in a resolution on the working of prisons which are in accord with mine. Despairing of any radical amendment of the law in India, I made such proposals, as, in my humble opimion, would effect

some improvement in the lot of the juvenile offender, but the main aim of the law ought to be to keep him away not only from older criminals but from matters connected with their trial even, as much as possible. Some Local Governments are endeavouring to achieve the former by introducting, what is known as, the Borstal system in the management of their jails, but the law must come to their aid in attaining the second object

Mrs. Besant's University

For the last few years Mrs Besant has been endeavouring to raise her College at Benares into a University As usual she has been working at her scheme with admirable persistence and astuteness With a view to gain her object she has been by turns coquetting with popular craze and cajoling Government sympathy At first she tried to made it a Hindu University but with her natural shrewdness she saw that there was no chance of getting charter for a denominational University, and of late she has adopted the more catching name of the ' University of India" Though the name has been changed, the thing remains much the same, for the proposed University whatever be its name, will be nothing more than the Benares College By her clever manœuvrings she has secured the support of a few very influential names, in the country, but it is these very names which have increased our misgivings of the scheme For we feel convinced that men like the Hon Mr S Sinha have neither the time nor the serious inclination to look into the affairs of the proposed University, and practically the thing will be run pretty much as Mrs Besant likes And we must confess that the management of the Central Hindu College may have impressed one with a sense of her abilities and resourcefulness but has not increased our confidence in her Mrs Besant has contributed a long article on her scheme to the *Hindustan Review*, but we have not been convinced of the necessity of a new University by her arguments, separate and distinct from the existing Universities The "most marked speciality of the proposed University will be in the fact that it will affiliate no College in which religion and morality do not form an integral part of the education given Now, religious and moral education is a very important thing and it is desirable that provision should be made for it, but to make compulsory will create new difficulties specially in a country like India where, there are so many different religions and sects In the existing Universities there is no objection to making provision for religious education in any of the affiliated colleges According to Mrs Besant's own showing it has been possible under the existing circumstances to establish such efficient colleges with provision for religious education as the Central Hindu College, the Aligarh College, the D A V College, the Dyal Singh College, the many Christian Missionary Colleges What then is the necessity of creating a separate University? If larger provision for religious education is wanted, all that is necessary is to expand the present system The problem of religious education is a serious one, which has not yet been solved and we are not at all sure in the University of Mrs Besant the question is likely to be satisfactorily dealt with We will simply reproduce here what an eminent scholar, who is interested both in education and religion has to say about Mr Besant's system of religious education Mr J N Farquhar, in his widely noticed article on the Greatness of Hinduism thus speaks of it. "Let any one read through the *Advanced Text-*

book of Hindu Religion and Ethics published by the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College, Benares, which is the authoritative creed of the Revival. The worship of many gods and the use of idols are frankly defended We are told that the absurd cosmogony of the Puranas is more accurate than modern astronomy (pp 16-17). Scores of the myths of the Hindu books are gravely related as historical We are told that 'the Rishis are ever watching over the religion they gave, withdrawing and again giving revelation according to the needs and the capacities of each age', (p 4), that the Vedas, used as muttered charms, provide a system "by the mastery of which all the energies of nature may be controlled' (p 10), that the death of a man actually produces impurity in the bodies of his near relatives (p 196), that if the ceremonies for the dead are properly performed, "the subtle parts of the offerings made during their performance feed the deceased till he goes to *Pitriloka*" (*i e*, the home of the fathers), and that the Mantras" (*i e*, texts muttered as charms) 'facilitate his passage thereto' (p 186) This is what modernised, scientific, philosophic Hinduism comes to Could anything be more pitiful, more absurd?'

The second important speciality of Mrs Besant's University is said to be "the placing in the first rank of Indian philosophy, history and literature, and seeking in these and in the classical languages of India, the chief means of culture If that is a desirable thing, we should try to have more of it in the existing universities instead of frittering away the available resources in many fragmentary institutions Similarly the third marked speciality of Mr Besant's University, *i e* manual and technical training, could be better secured by improving the existing Universities than creating a new one with necessarily inadequate resources The present Universities with their territorial jurisdictions have greater facilities for administration and discipline A University for all India with institutions scattered from the Himalayas to Cope Comorin can never expect to have any academic life and atmosphere It will create a factor of difference not union. It will have pretensions, which it can never hope to realise It will weaken and hamper the growth of the existing Universities We regret that so many influential men should have lent the support of their name to the project But we hope the Government will consider the question carefully before taking any definite measure with regard it —The *Indian Messenger*, Calcutta

Mrs Besant is astute and her efforts to establish the Benares College have been most skiful, but that her special pleadings are not proving over efficacious is evident from a severely critical account to be found in *The Indian Messenger* Mrs Besant s success in getting hold of a few influential names, in no sense satisfies our contemporary In a recent article in *The Hindustan Review* Mrs Besant has been making known the purpose for which the University is to be organized " The *Indian Witness*

The "Hindustan Review,"

With the August number of the *Hindustan Review* in our hands we feel a special word is necessary to commend to the public a periodical which is well on to the completion of its twefth year of existence Beginning as the *Kayastha Samachar*, a small monthly organ of the Kaystha Phthshala of Allahabad, this monthly review f men and affairs has steadily grown in

utility and importance till it has admittedly become one of the leading organs of enlightened public opinion in India. To the Hon. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the capable and devoted editor of the *Review*, belongs all the credit for raising it to its present influence and efficiency and we warmly congratulate him upon the signal success of his efforts. There is a long and representative list of contributors, the range of subjects is varied and wide, the policy is marked by advanced liberalism of the best type and the editorial supervision is as careful as it is unremitting. We are certain the *Hindutan Review* has a long career of usefulness and good work before it—The *Tribune*.

With the July number of the *Hindustan Review*, of which the Hon'ble Mr. Sachichdananda Sinha has been the editor, it has entered upon its eleventh year of existence. During these ten years the *Hindustan Reveiw* has been a source of light and inspiration to its readers who have never failed to find in its pages the information necessary to keep them abreast of their time. Mr Sinha has laboured hard and has succeeded in making his journal a power for good in the land. We congratulate him on the success of his patrotic enterprise and wish him and his *Review* greater prosperity in the future. What has been noteworthy in the case of the *Hindustan Review* has been its steady improvement both in the quality and variety of its contents; and of this the July number itself furnishes evidence. It contains in all ten articles on different subjects, either of current or permanent interest. The Literary Supplement contains articles of interest to bookmen and in "Topics of the Day," the editor discusses current events and deals with most of the topical subjects. *The Madras Standard*

The *Hindustan Review* for August is, as usual, an interesting compendium of current thought, reflection and comment, though we find such topics, treated of as "Ancient India's Commercial Relations" by Professor Jogendra Nath Samaddar, and the "English in the Court and Camp of Sivaji" by Mr. J. L. Chatterji, "The place of Art in Education" by Miss Fransesca Arundale. The opening paper in the *Review* is, in the main, a protest against the vulgarisation of Indian Art by European influences. We agree with much which the writer says, but we are not inclined to believe that criticism even yet revived or ever will revive the artistic sense of a community. The artist is every thing, the art critic is quite a secondary person, though in saying so we do not wish to depreciate his efforts. What we mean is that art, whether in literature or painting or sculpture or architecture springs from the artistic spirit of a nation itself. True art is, above all, criticism in a sense; for it and it only supplies the very material of a sound criticism to the commentator. There is much that is admirably sound in "Juvenile Offenders in India" by Sahibzada Abdul Wahid Khan, and "Ancient India's Commereial Relations", which we have already mentioned, is informative and interesting. The usual reviews and notices are conscientiously done.—The *Morning Post of India*.

The *Hindustan Review* for August is a very interesting number. We have already drawn attention to Mr. K. J. Tarachand's article on "Vaccination: An Exploded Fad. "One who knows him" writes a readable account of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh. The place of honour is given to Miss F. Arundale's article on "The place of Art in Education." The *Hinstan Review* contains much and varied interesting matter and is ably edited—The *Hindu*.

• The *Hindustan Review* contains a wealth of information on India by Anglo-Indian and Indian contributors. It is very ably edited by the Hon. S. Sinha —*The Home and Colonial Mail.* (London.)

Points of view.

It is interesting to see how the same phenomena strike observers possessing different mental temperaments. The Hindu revival movement is a phenomenon which has been noticed by several European observes. To the *Time's* special correspondent, this revival appears as the chief concomitant of unrest, and he argues that the rehabilitation of Hindu beliefs has proceeded *pari passu* with the growth of political disaffection. He also finds in the revival movement antagonism to and a revolt against the West. On the other hand, a local Christian divine, the Reverend Dr. Griswold, who has lived many years in the country and is also an Orientalist of note, reads quite other signs in the revival movement. In his article in the July *Hindustan Review* the Reverend Doctor expresses the hope that the inherent type and the attitude of the Indian mind with its conviction of the supreme importance of the spiritual and its masterful repose may 'help to solve the problems of Christian interpretation, though and life.' Far from deprecating this Hindu revival, he considers it one of the great merits of the British administration in India and one that has helped the people of the country to rediscover a highly important but almost forgotten part of their spiritual inheritance. Between these two views, the opinion of the *Westminster Gazette*, that the Indian problem can not be answered by the knowledge the one generation can possess is distinctly interesting.—The *Tribune.*

"A Study of Hypnotism."

In the last volume of the *Hindustan Review* there appeared a couple of articles on the above subject, by Mr. S. Ranganath Rao, B. A. The editor received a large number of letters enquiring about the writer's address. It was not possible to publish Mr. Rao's address at the time, but we do so now. It is : Teacher, Government High School, Chadarghat, Hyderabad (Deccan).

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—" *I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator.*)

MOTTO II.—" Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view ; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

The late Mrs. Sapru.

TO few persons, indeed, does the *Hindustan Review* owe its successso much as to our esteemed friend, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D., the distinguished Advocate and one of the leading Indian publicists. It is but right, therefore, that in the hour of his dire misfortune, the sympathy of the readers of this review should go to soothe his profound sorrow. We are sure our readers will deeply and sincerely condole with Dr. Sapru, on the grievous loss he has sustained in the sudden and premature death of his highly accomplished and talented wife. For ourselves, we find it difficult to express our feelings of deepest regret and genuine sympathy and can only hope and trust that a man of fortitude that Dr. Sapru is, he will be able to bear up against this heavy blow. We sincerely condole with Dr. Tej Bahadur in his sore trial.

Acknowledgment.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following British, American, Anglo-Indian, and Indian publications in exchange for the *Hindustan Review* :—

Quarterlies (Foreign) :—[1] The *Quarterly Review*, [2] The *Edinburgh Review*, [3] The *Hibbert Journal*, [4] The *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, [5] The *East and the West*, [6] The *Humane Review*, [7] The *Buddhist Review*, [8] The *Monist* ; **(Indian)** : [9] The *Calcutta Review*, [10] The *Malabar Quarterly Review*, [11] The *Indian Interpreter*, [12] The *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, [13] The *Agricultural Journal of India*, [14] The *Ceylon National Review*, and [15] The *Church Quarterly Review*.

Monthlies (Foreign) :—[16] The *Contemporary Review*, [17] The *National Review*, [18] The *English Review*, [19] The *Review of Reviews*, [20] The *North American Review*, [21] The *Literary Guide*, [22] The *Indian Magazine*, [23] The *Positivist Review*, [24] The *Socialist Review*, [25] The *Twentieth Century Magazine* ; [26] The *Open Court*, [27] The *British Empire Review*, [28] *United Empire*, [29] *Travel and Exploration* ; **(Indian)** : [30] The *Modern Review*, [31] The *Indian World*, [32] *East and West*, [33] The *Indian Review*, [34] The *Indian Ladies' Magazine*, [35] The *Dawn*, [36] The *International Police Service Magazine*, [37] The *Vedic Magazine*, [38] The *Muslim Review*, and [39] The *Criminal Law Journal of India*.

Fortnightlies (Foreign) : [40] The *Dial* ; **(Indian)** : [41] The *Calcutta Law Journal*, [42] The *Bombay Law Reporter*, [43] The *Madras Law Journal*, and [44] The *Empress*.

Weeklies (Foreign) :—[45] The *Saturday Review*, [46] The *Nation*, [47] The *Outlook*, [48] The *Times* [with *Literary Supplement*], [49] The *Outlook* [New York], [50] The *Overseas Daily Mail*, [51] *T. P.'s Weekly*, [52] *India*, [53] The *Literary Digest*, [54] *Indian Opinion*, [55] *Public Opinion*, [56] The *Living Age*, [57] The *Nation*, (New York) [58] The *Standard of Empire* ; [59] The *Independent* ; **(Indian)** : [60] *Capital*, [61] The *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, [62] The *Allahabad Law Journal*, [63] The *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, [64] The *Madras Law Times*, [65] The *Indian Nation*, [66] The *Indian Social Reformer*, [67] The *Parsi*, [68] The *Hindi Punch*, [69] The *Mussalman*, [70] The *Wednesday Review*, [71] *Mahratta*, [72] The *Indian Planter's Gazette*, [73] *Commerce*, and [74] The *Madras Weekly Notes*.

Tri-Weekly :—[75] The *Panjabee*. **Semi-Weekly** :—[76] The *Advocate*.

Dailies (Indian).—[77] The *Englishman*, [78] The *Statesman*, [79] The *Indian Daily News*, [80] The *Empire*, [81] The *Bengalee*, [82] The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, [83] The *Indian Mirror*, [84] The *Hindu Patriot*, [85] The *Times of India*, [86] The *Bombay Gazette*, [87] The *Advocate of India*, [88] The *Civil and Military Gazette*, [89] The *Tribune*, [90] The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, [91] The *Morning Post*, [92] The *Madras Mail*, [93] The *Hindu*, [94] The *Madras Standard*, [95] The *Indian Patriot*, [96] The *Madras Times*, [97] The *Sind Gazette*, [98] The *Pioneer* and [99] The *Leader*. **(Foreign)**—[100] The *Chicago Evening Post*.

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(Sd.) **JAI BHAGWAN, Halwai,**

30-5-1910. *Legal Guardian of Ratiram, Minor, Multan Cantt.*

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THE

Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law*.

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."

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PROVINCIAL FINANCE:

THE QUASI-PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS.

By Mr. N. A. Dravid, M.A., of the Servants of India Society.

TO the general student of Indian polity as well as to the professed student of Indian Finance, there is no subject more fascinating than the history of the evolution of Provincial Finance. The devolution of administrative responsibility from the Supreme Government to the Provincial Governments and from the latter to the local authorities subordinate to them, such as Municipalities and rural boards, has so closely followed the decentralisation of finance that even to a layman who gives any thought to the constitutional progress of his country, the study of the provincial system possesses absorbing interest. The object of this article is, first to sketch this history briefly, and then to describe the latest phase of the Provincial system, *viz.*, the Quasi-Permanent Settlements with the various provinces. We are justified in looking upon these settlements as only a phase of the system, because the way in which it has evolved since its origin in the early seventies shows clearly that the development cannot stop here. Nor has this aspect of the subject escaped the attention of those responsible authorities at head-quarters who inaugurated the present system of Provincial Finance in 1904. Sir Edward Law thought it necessary to explain fully the nature of the important step made in the development of Provincial Finance, because, he said, 'it was possible that the new departure (namely, the

making of the Provincial Settlement Quasi-Permanent) might have important and far-reaching consequences.' (*Vide* para. 206 of the Government of India's Financial Statement for 1904-1905.) With the conclusion of a quasi-permanent settlement with Eastern Bengal and Assam, just announced by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, the long list of resettlements on the new basis has practically closed, and the Finance Minister has warned us that no hope of any general revision of these arrangements can be held out.

"The idea of giving to Provincial Governments a certain control over their own finance, and allowing them to provide funds by levying local taxes" seems first to have been mooted by Mr. Laing, when Finance Member of the Imperial Council in 1861. Mr. Laing found it necessary to curtail expenditure on public works in order to cover a deficit; and anticipating the objections to such a course, he is said to have suggested that public works of a minor character might be entrusted to Provincial Governments thus to be executed with the aid of locally-raised funds. It will be seen that the system of financial decentralisation had its origin in the difficulties of the Imperial Government. Before Mr. Laing's time as well as for a decade after him, *i.e.*, for more than a generation after the Charter Act of 1833 had expressly vested 'the entire superintendence, direction and control of the whole civil and military government in a Governor-General and Councillors who were to be styled the Governor-General of India in Council'—altogether for a period of 37 years—Indian Finance was completely centralised. "The Supreme Government was supposed to gather in all the receipts; the whole of the revenues from all the provinces of British India were treated as belonging to a single fund, expenditure from which could be authorised by the Governor-General in Council alone." Mr. Laing's suggestion was revived by Mr. Massey, India's Finance Minister in 1866, and was worked out by Colonel Richard Strachey with special reference to public works. It was afterwards supported as applicable generally by Sir John Strachey, but it was not till the year 1871 that the first step was taken in the scheme of decentralisation of Provincial Finance. Sir John Strachey in his book on India: *Its Administration and Progress* does not indeed trace the origin of the system beyond his brother Sir Richard Strachey, but the *Report of the Welby Commission* goes into the history of this question in fuller detail, and the information given above, now of academic interest only, has been derived from that source. Sir John Strachey himself believes that 'no

more important and successful reforms have been made in Indian administration since the transfer of the Government to the Crown than these measures of decentralisation'. It is therefore of some interest to know exactly who first conceived idea, of which the complete logical development is yet far in the future.

When the system of Provincial Finance was first introduced in 1871 by the Government of Lord Mayo, certain heads of expenditure, nine in number, "in which the local Governments might be supposed to take special interest" were made over to them. To meet these......charges there were assigned to the latter the departmental receipts under the corresponding head and also a *fixed lump grant from the Imperial Revenues*, the Local Governments being left to make up the deficiency, if any, by local taxation. These arrangements were necessarily experimental and subject to revision, either in principle or detail 'should experience suggest that such a course was necessary'—no definite period being fixed for the currency of this the first Provincial Contract. This phase, which may be called *the period of fixed lump allotments* pure and simple, was followed by the next one in 1877. The most important step in advance taken this year was that some of *the Principal heads of revenue* were transferred to the Provincial Governments, in whole or in part. Fixed lump allotments had of course to be maintained, as before, though now at a reduced figure, to make up for the excess of expenditure over the receipts. Stamps and Excise were amongst the first of the Principal heads to be thus provincialised, it being thought that as the collection of revenue under these heads was very much neglected, an incentive to increased zeal would be provided by giving them an interest in increased collections. The contracts with Provincial Governments under this system were made for a period of five years, at the end of which they were as a matter of course to come in for revision. This is the system known as the system of Quinquennial Contracts or five-year budgets.

The Contract with British Burma and Assam, revised in 1878-79, paved the way for the next great step taken under Lord Ripon when Major Baring was our Finance Minister. A new feature introduced into the arrangements with these Provinces was that, in place of the fixed allotments *a share* of the net reserved Imperial revenues was assigned to them, so that the Provincial finances may participate in the improvement of those revenues. When the time for general revision of the quinquennial contracts

with all the Provinces came up in 1882, this principle was made the basis of all the new settlements, "Instead of giving to Provincial Governments as heretofore, a fixed sum of money to make good any excess of provincialised expenditure over provincialised receipts a certain proportion of the Imperial revenue of each Province was for the future to be devoted to this object." The practice of regular quinquennial revision also seems to have been stereotyped on this occasion, and it continued in full operation from 1877 to 1904 in spite of repeated protests, often very vehement and acrimonious, from the Provincial Governments as well as the representatives of the Indian people The system of Provincial Finance was introduced with the express object of furnishing motives for economy to the Provincial Governments in the management of their resources; but in practical working the result was seen to be that at almost each revision of the Provincial Contract, the Imperial Government resumed a certain amount of revenue from the Provinces for Imperial purposes. It has been calculated—and admitted too—that when the Provincial system was first introduced and, in later years, at each renewal of the contract, the following amounts have been resumed by the Imperial Government, thereby crippling provincial resources and retarding the improvement of the internal administration of the country. Thus :—

In 1870—Rs. 33 lacs were resumed annually by the Government of India.

In 1877—Rs. 40 lacs were resumed annually by the Government of India.

In 1882—Rs. 26 lacs were surrendered by the Government of India in favour of the Provinces.

In 1887—Rs. 64 lacs were resumed annually by the Government of India.

In 1892—Rs. 46 lacs were resumed annually by the Government of India.

In 1897—*nil* (resumptions in certain Provinces having been counterbalanced by increments in others).

Rs. 157 lacs net.

Only at the 1882 revision, in Lord Ripons's time, when Major Baring was Finance Minister, were the contracts favourable to Provincial Governments, giving them a margin of increased expenditure to the extent of 26 lacs. The nett amount resumed

between 1870 and 1897 will thus be seen to be a little over a crore and a half. It is obvious how under this system the continuity of the internal development of each province must have been rudely shaken at each successive revision of the settlement. When the evils resulting from this system of quinquennial revisions were described at the Budget Debate in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1897 by Mr. Sayani of Bombay, and the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the Finance Minister Sir James Westland uttered a vehement protest, upholding the theory of the constitutional right of the Imperial Government to regard 'the revenues of India as the revenues of the Government of India—its constitutional possession.' He further said that the Government of India was a body created by Act of Parliament and if reference was made to that Act it could be seen that the revenues of India remained the revenues of the Government of India alone. Every action that was taken by a Local Government must be, he said, justified by a specific order of the Government of India; the Local Governments derived their powers entirely from the Government of India and apart from that Government they exercised no financial powers whatever. Referring to the remarks of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir James Westland continued :—" When His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor begins to talk of my *demanding money from him* in the last Provincial settlement—a contribution from his revenue—I deny the position altogether". The assignment he maintained, was for five years only, and it was distinctly limited to that term and at the end of the 5 years the Government of India 're-entered absolutely into the rights it previously possessed. The theory of the constitutional possession of the revenues of India remains true to this day—the system of quasi-permanent settlements introduced in the year 1904 made and could make no change in that particular. Sir Edward Law at the time of inaugurating the Provincial system that now holds the field, declared that 'the Government of India necessarily reserved to itself, *as the final authority in India responsible for the finance and administration of the country*, the power to revise the settlement of any or all Provinces at any time whenever necessity may demand it.' Though the constitutional principle is thus once again re-affirmed, it is a matter of common experience that practice often leaves theory much behind till a certain form of practice is so firmly established that the theory has to suit itself to the altered circumstances. In the matter of financial decentralisation also it is bound to be so in

the long run. As a matter of fact, Sir Edward Law assured us that "it was the intention of Government only to exercise this power of revision when the variations from initial relative standards of revenue and expenditure in any province had, over a substantial term of years, been so great as to result in unfairness either to the province itself, to the other provinces or to the Government of India; or in the event of the Government of India being itself confronted with the alternative of either imposing additional taxation or of calling Provincial Governments to its rescue." It is, however, interesting to note that in 1904, though the theory of constitutional possession was re-affirmed, the evils complained of under the system of five-year budgets were admitted. Its several grave defects, namely, that "it interfered with the continuity of Provincial Finance, that it tended by its operation to encourage extravagance rather than economy, that the apportionment of revenue to the several provinces had never been made on any definite or logical principle" were all admitted— and a new era of Provincial Finance was ushered in.

So much for its history in the pre-quasi-permanent period. The settlements, as they at present exist, may be now considered. Before we take up the details of the various provinces, however, it will be well to mention the few general principles which underlie all these settlements.

Firstly,—In view of the relative permanence in the matter of settlements now guaranteed to the provinces, the assignments to them now include a somewhat smaller share of the growing revenues.

Secondly,—This share has been so calculated that each province separately and all provinces taken together shall be placed in possession of an amount of growing revenue bearing very nearly the same proportion to their expenditure as the Imperial share bore to the Imperial expenditure.

Thirdly,—The actual heads of revenue that were in 1904 Imperial, Provincial or *divided*, were with small exceptions retained as such, but the provincial shares of the divided heads were altered so as to equalise, as far as possible, the share of revenues accruing to each province under the principal heads.

Fourthly,—Under all divided heads of revenue the corresponding head of expenditure has ordinarily been divided in equal proportion.

These general principles have of course been modified in their application in detail to various provinces. In the year 1904, the figures showed that in the aggregate the Imperial expenditure represented a little over ¾ths of the total expenditure for all India. This proportion was accordingly taken as the basis of division of revenue between Imperial and Provincial; but numerous adjustments were made (1) to make allowance for the heads of revenue which were entirely Provincial, or entirely Imperial as the case might be; (2) to make larger grants to the more backward provinces; and (3) to permit of various administrative reforms being made in the various provinces.

It should further be noted that the receipts and expenditure under Opium, Salt, Customs, Tributes, Posts and Telegraphs, Mint, Railways and Military, as also the corresponding heads of expenditure are entirely Imperial. These are departments in which undivided control is necessary both for economy and efficiency, and accordingly they are retained as Imperial. As regards Interest, the interest on Provincial Loans and advances alone belongs to the provinces. Of the Principal Heads of Revenue, the receipts under registration are now throughout the provinces made entirely provincial. The receipts from the Civil Departments, *i.e.*, Law and Justice, Police, Ports and Pilotage, Education, Medical and Scientific and Minor Departments, the Provincial Civil Works, as well as the Expenditure under the corresponding heads are wholly provincial. On the Expenditure side, besides the heads mentioned above as being under the undivided control of the Imperial Government the following Civil Departments, *viz.* the Ecclesiastical, the Political and Miscellaneous Civil Charges, Territorial and Political Pensions, Civil Furlough and Absentee Allowances—are wholly Imperial items. All the remaining Principal Heads of Revenue and Irrigation are what are known as divided heads. The shares of the Principal Heads allotted to all the provinces except the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Punjab are uniform, *i.e.*, one-half. Irrigation Receipts are, however, assigned in different proportions in the different provinces. In order to help the eye to take in at a glance the proportions in which the revenue from the Principal Divided heads is distributed in the provinces, it is desirable to present them in a tabular form.

Shares of Provincial Revenue under the Principal Revenue Heads and Irrigation.

Item.	Province.	Bombay	Panjab	C. P. and Berar.	Burma.	Bengal.	U. P.	Madras.	E. B. & Assam.	Remarks.
	References to the Financial Statement and paras. in which the Settlement is described.	('05-'06) sec. 203	('05-'06) sec. 203	('06-'07) sec. 215.	('07-'08) sec. 238.	('07-'08) sec. 267	('08-'09) sec. 188.	('08-'09) sec. 188.	('10-'11) sec. 52.	
1	Land Revenue	½	3/8	½	½	½	3/8	½	½	
2	Stamps	...	One-half in all the various provinces.							
	Income Tax									
	Excise									
	Forests									
3	Registration	...	Whole in all the various Provinces							
4	Irrigation. a. Direct Receipts	½	3/8	0	0	Whole.	Whole.	½	0	
	b. Land Revenue due to irrigation.	½	3/8	0	0	0		0	0	
	c. Minor works	½	Only proceeds from canals constructed from Provincial Funds.	Whole.	Whole.	Whole.	Whole	Whole.	Whole.	
5	Fixed Annual assignments from Imperial grants (in lacs).	42·77	3·00	27·07	90·68	7·39	13·89	− 22·57	38·85	
6	Famine Reserve annual grants (in lacs)...	13·70	1·40	12·80	*Nil*	2·60	4·50	2·50	*Nil*	
7	Initial Lump grants (in lacs)	50·0ɔ	50·00	30·00	50·00	50·00	30·00	50·00	20+30	
8	Minimum Guaranteed Land Revenue ...	189·25	*Nil*	82·50	*Nil*	*Nil*	240·00	308·00	*Nil**	
9	Minimum Guaranteed Irrigation Receipts.	*Nil*	28·00	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	60·00	*Nil*	*Nil*	

[*N. B.*]—It will be noticed in the above table that against (5), *i. e.*, the fixed annual assignments in the column for Madras, there is a minus entry. It means that in the case of the Madras Presidency there is a contribution from the Provincial to Imperial revenue, there being an excess of normal receipts over the estimated standard expenditure for the Provinces.

Before the quasi-permanent settlement was introduced in each province, what is known as a standard of expenditure for it, was first settled with the help of the averages of the actuals of the last few years and the apportionment of shares of revenues and fixed assignments were made to enable the Province to meet the standardized expenditure. There have been, owing to special grants for various administrative reforms, large variations for the standard, but that is the point to which the pendulum even at the extreme of its amplitude tends to swing back. If there is any permanent advance in this standard the money has at any rate to come from provincialised sources. These standards are the following :—

	Rs.		Rs.
For Bombay	4,91,75,000	Madras ...	5,38,22,000
Punjab	2,49,50,000	United Provinces	5,21,14,000
Central Provinces	1,76,43,000	E. B. & Assam ...	2,61,07,000
Bengal	4,74,40,000	Burma ...	4,39,66,000

The Settlements on the new basis began in the year 1904, and the last of the series of new settlements were effected only in March last. Those who care to study the present arrangement in the original may find the references given in the table to particular paragraphs in the Government of India's Financial Statements, of some help. With respect to Expenditure, the principle always to be kept in mind is that *expenditure follows revenue, i.e.*, expenditure is divided in the same proportion between Imperial and Provincial as revenue. There is, however, one important exception, to this—that *Expenditure under '3, Land Revenue' on the debit side which represents the cost of ordinary District Administration, is wholly Provincial in all cases.* It will be noted in the Table above that there is what is called a Famine Reserve Grant varying in amount for each province. This is one of the best features of the new system, for which we are indebted to the late Finance Minister. The occurrence of famine in the provinces liable to it throws their entire finance out of gear. To render the normal finance of the provinces immune from these periodical disturbances the Government of India allots every year to most of the provinces concerned a special grant and allows them to build up a reserve with itself, *i.e.*, with the Government of India, the maximum of which is fixed at a different figure for each province according to its estimated requirements. The maximum amounts are for :—

	Rs.		Rs
Bombay	.. 80 lacs	Bengal	... 25 lacs
Punjab	.. 10 lacs	United Provinces	... 30 lacs
C. P. & B.	... 80 lacs	Madras	... 25 lacs
Burma	... *Nil*	E. B. & Assam	*Nil*

Burma and E. B. & Assam are for all practical purposes immune from famine. These reserves are to be drawn upon, in full if necessary, whenever a famine occurs in a province. If the reserves are exhausted, the further expenditure is to be shared half and half till the minimum cash balance* prescribed for the province is reduced by one-half. All expenditure after that is to be fully Imperial (Secs. 48 to 57 in the Financial Statement for 1907-08). Another measure closely analogous to this is the minimum guarantee given under Land Revenue and Irrigation receipts to provinces in which they are liable to embarrassing fluctuations. If these receipts fall below a certain amount, the deficiency is to be made up by the Imperial Government by special contributions adjusted as usual through the Land Revenue head—this being the channel for passing on annual contributions *fixed* as well as *non-recurring* from Imperial to Provincial or *vice versâ*.

The above is, in short, the system of settlements now in force. Fixed lump allotments have been a constant feature of the financial decentralisation scheme since its inception in 1871, and though they are not so numerous or large as formerly, there seems to be no chance of their entire elimination. These annual assignments, fixed and non-recurring (for various specific administrative reforms), taken together form a large part of Provincial Revenue. In the year 1907-08 the last year included in the latest issue of *Statistics compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts* the contributions from the Imperial to the Provincial, including both fixed assignments and what are called 'doles' are (in thousands) for—

Bombay ...	8,040	Bengal ...	2,101
Punjab ...	5,743	United Provinces...	9,948
C. P. & B. ...	5,443	Madras ...	15,593
Burma ...	9,726	E. B. & Assam ...	765

These figures are indeed large. The advocates of further decentralization maintain that such items have no place in a thoroughly sound system of finance. They desire also that the principle of dividing heads of revenue and expenditure, necessitating constant references backwards and forwards should be eschewed

* It should be noted that the Imperial Government has prescribed a certain *minimum cash balance* which must be maintained by each Provincial Government. This *minimum* is for Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, and Bengal, 20 lacs each, for Punjab, 10 lacs, for C. P., 8 lacs, for Burma 6 lacs. These figures are taken from certain tables submitted in evidence before the Welby Commission by Sir H. Waterfield and Mr. Stephen Jacob. See Appendix No. 8.

altogether. Sir Charles Elliot, Sir William Hunter, Mr. Justice Cunningham and Mr. Justice Ranade, President and Members of the Finance Committee of 1885, proposed in a Note to the Government of India that no divided departments should be maintained, and also prepared a scheme to show how their proposal would work. Sir David Barbour, once Finance Minister, has supported the contention that 'a province with a population of many millions is important enough to have a financial system of its own'. Coming to very recent times, Sir Steyning Edgerley, once Member of the Bombay Executive Council and recently Member of the Royal Decentralisation Commission, has advocated the view that the provinces should have 'independent sources of revenue'. We have before us the large figures of contributions from 'Imperial' to 'Provincial' for the various province. We can easily find out, by taking the figures of revenue under the divided heads, which heads, if exclusively made over to the Provinces would bring them the amounts that are now disbursed as fixed assignments and grants for specific purposes. Registration has been wholly provincialised everywhere; the same principle has to be applied to other heads and the Provincial Budgets thus disentangled from the complexities of the Imperial, to the manifest relief of both.

The principle of separate sources of revenue for the provinces may, if pushed on continuously, in the long run make them the tributaries of the Imperial Government, paying to the latter so much lump annual contribution or tribute or *matricular beitrage* of the German Empire. This is not a consummation which Indians should deplore, if only at the same time we could make sure that the Provincial Legislative Councils, with a majority of representatives of the people, would be able to prevent the fiscal autonomy of local governments from being used to the detriment of our real interests. At present the Government of India exercises a check on the spending propensities of the Local Governments, and though the check is not exercised always in the directions that we would desire, we can ill afford to have it removed until the constitutional arrangements should compel the local taxing authorities to reckon with a strong, enlightened and independent public opinion. The pressure for increase of expenditure on provincial governments is so great and so constant that there is real danger in entrusting them with powers of taxation without a guarantee that those powers will always be used for the benefit, and in accordance with the capacity, of the people concerned. Such a guarantee can hardly

be looked for under existing conditions; and this is why the leaders of Indian public opinion pause and hesitate before advocating what may otherwise be regarded as the next logical step in financial decentralisation. A great deal of ground has to be covered before the representatives of the people can acquire the position and authority which that consummation presupposes. It is not perhaps permissible to look so far ahead in practical politics; but in the first flush of a new-born hope the student of Indian finance cannot resist the temptation to think of a time when the Imperial Government, now so absolute, would be under the necessity of keeping its expenditure as far as possible well within its own particular resources, and when it would have to depend on contributions from the provinces to meet the demands of an emergency like a war or a rebellion. Then indeed should we be within sight of a system of federal finance such as obtains in countries so large and so varied as India, by which the Provinces will be secured in the continued and unrestricted enjoyment of their own revenues, subject only to the paramount necessities of the whole country whose interests are committed to the charge of the central Government.

JOURNALISM AS A PROFESSION IN INDIA.*

By Dewan Bahadur Karunakara Menon, Editor, *Indian Patriot*.

IT may be doubted whether the time has come in this country to consider journalism as a profession for young men; for journalism is still a very limited field into which only a very few can enter. I know that journalism like law has a certain glamour to our young men, and, perhaps, also to some old men who have but judged journalistic life and profession purely by the outward signs of power and influence which they see in the printed sheet. But one who recommends it as a profession for young men ought to point out the inner reality which is somewhat obscured by the glamour. Journalism is unlike law in this respect. The legal profession is open to any number of men that can pass certain qualifying tests and go through certain preliminaries. It shuts out nobody who has met these conditions. Of his prospects in the profession alone he has to be anxious. But journalism is not open to all like that. One cannot become a journalist unless there is a journal to which he can attach himself, and when one has been a journalist for some time, he cannot leave the journal with which he has been connected unless some other journal wishes to take him. If journalism is to be a profession, the man who makes it his profession must be able to continue in it. This continuance is sometimes conditional on there being a number of journals which would employ men trained for the profession. Journalism is, perhaps, the only profession which in India is deemed to require no previous training or preparation. But that is a mistake, whose nature I shall presently deal with. The point which we are immediately concerned with is whether, assuming that there is a school of journalism with facilities for apprenticeship, and that a number of men are annually prepared for the journalistic work, there is a demand for them. A school of journalism will require at least a dozen pupils; and suppose a dozen young men are annually turned out, will there be journals to employ them? When we speak of journalism, it must be understood that we refer to daily journalism. The weekly journal played a great part in India at one time. Even now there are a few well conducted weekly journals. But these cannot employ many men. Daily journalism presents a large field. It requires editors, sub-editors, reporters, and, if all conditions are to be met, descriptive and imaginative writers, adventurous correspondents and so on. Indian journalism yet works within very moderate limits. It is mostly political in its aims and functions. In fact, it was the political need that originated journalism in this country. Journals were started to give expression to the opinions and feelings of the people

* Originally delivered as a lecture and especially revised and adapted for publication in the *Hindustan Review*.

in regard to administrative policy and measures. So the early journals were all devoted to the discussion of administrative questions as affecting the people of the country, and their chief feature was their leading articles. They contained very little of what is called news. Once a week they came out with one or two articles, one or two letters from correspondents. The editor, in some cases, was not the writer of any of the articles, and I have heard stories of editors sitting on the *pial* of some gentlemen's house for hours together for an article. With great difficulty they managed to get an article or two for the next issue, and that was all what was wanted. But things have changed very much; the weekly journal has almost gone; the daily journal has come to the front.

Twenty-two years ago, there was but one Indian daily in the whole of India. Madras then supplied a second. A few years later, Bengal added three more. Later, the Punjab established one, and Madras has had two additions. Latterly, Bombay converted one of its Anglo-vernacular weeklies into a daily which is now bifurcated, and separate editions in both languages are now published. The last contribution to daily journalism has been just made by Allahabad. The position in regard to Indian journalism is this, the few journals that exist do not always get editors; and for men to train themselves for journalism, there is no guarantee of suitable employment. Some journals are frequently changing editors, for one reason or another; and as every journal has to be somehow published without interruption, when the right man is not to be had, some man is put in. This is a great danger to the prestige of journalism in India. A man without experience and judgment may change the whole tone and policy of a journal and, then another man, perhaps, equally inexperienced, takes his place and makes another experiment; and by that time, the journal becomes quite different from what it was once. If there are trained men with experience available to take the places of those who are leaving, the undesirable effects of a change can be minimised. Each paper must have a strong staff and a reserve to supply occasional demands. But a journal cannot be expected to maintain a reserve; in most cases, it cannot afford to do so. There is no walk of life allied to journalism except law; and no man can become a great lawyer unless he devotes himself entirely to his profession. There is then the public life which has widened somewhat with the expansion of the Legislative Councils. But no man can earn a living in public life. The preparation for public life is very much like that for journalism. In both, a knowledge of public affairs, political, social, administrative, and legislative is needed. There is no institution to prepare a young man for public life or journalism, and even if a young man puts himself to the trouble and expense of equipping himself for the task, he has very little to look forward to. In England, public life presents opportunities. A clever, capable young man may become a Private

Secretary to some statesman; he can enter Parliament and become an Under-Secretary or a Cabinet Minister, a Governor of a colony or a dependency. In India, he can at best become an unpaid member of the Legislative Council, with no funds to support him. Any training, therefore, that he may acquire can be useful to him only in the performance of an honorary work or as a journalist. And journalism, as I have said, is a very limited field and is practically confined to a few daily journals. We have no special journals of art, of literature, of wit and humour, and so many other varieties they have in Europe.

The number of journals of all varieties put together is very small here; and many of them are not very flourishing. Thus, admission to journalism must be very limited. And even in the case of existing journals, the scope is not very large. Every journal requires an editorial staff and a reporting staff; and these exhaust the ordinary requirements of an Indian journal. Of course, there are the telegrams and news sent from different parts of the country. There are also those who send occasional contributions. With the field so limited, it is obvious that many men cannot hope to find an opening in journalism, and the height to which they can rise is rarely high. Still, journalism requires a few, but these few must be the best. The reporting part of journalism, the part which belongs to the shorthand writer especially, is widening, but the young man who aspires to be a journalist seldom thinks of this profitable field. He wishes to be a sub-editor and then an editor, and little realises that if he begins as a shorthand reporter, he will have opportunities of distinction, and then, if he shows an aptitude, he can become a sub-editor or editor. But a good general education is necessary and, I must say, essential. To report a speech or proceedings well, a man must have a good knowledge of English, and he must also be able to understand what he reports. A young man fresh from the college cannot understand the subjects dealt with in the Legislative Council, in court of law, or in a public meeting; but, unless he understands and can follow what is spoken, he cannot produce a satisfactory report. In fact, the reporter's knowledge must be more varied than that of the editor, not to discuss, but to accurately understand what he hears. The editor may employ different men to write about different matters, but the reporter must depend on himself to accurately reproduce what he hears. Many young men, though they may not possess a degree, can take to this line; and with patience can attain proficiency and success. There are a few distinguished men in this line among us, but we do not find many younger men striving to emulate them.

I have referred already to the impression, which seems to prevail among those who wish to enter the journalistic profession, that it requires no previous study or preparation. I have said this is a mistake. A young man

going into a newspaper office can be of little service if he has not had some previous equipment. A general education of a pretty high standard, such as is given in our colleges and tested by the B.A. degree examination, will be a good foundation for a highly intelligent young man. If he has graduated in History and Political Economy, that foundation will be better. But this has to be supplemented largely by a study of modern history and economics, of the existing system of administration, of agriculture and industries, and of the social conditions of the people. In addition to this, a study of law, of the principles of jurisprudence, is highly useful both as a training for the mind and in the practical duties of journalism. I will indicate what in my imperfect understanding are the necessary studies. I take it for granted, that the young man has formed his style, has acquired a facility of expressing himself with accuracy and force. Precision, perspicuity and force are the essentials in newspaper writing. This he must cultivate for himself by constantly reading such authors and such newspapers as are reputed for their excellence, and as interest him and appeal to him. Next to this, he must acquire a good knowledge of history, particularly modern history. The history of India of the British period more specially since the Charter Act of 1813, must be studied comprehensively; it must include all Parliamentary legislation affecting India, the different parliamentary enquiries, the constitutional changes and reforms. With this must go the history of the protected states, with their treaties and relations with the paramount power and their administrative systems and arrangements. Then, there is the history of England particularly from the Reform Act of 1832, and lastly, the history of Modern Europe commencing from about the middle of the last century. Of economics, the study cannot be confined to Europe, but must be varied to suit the conditions of India, since all principles applied in the West cannot be wholly applied to India. The industries of India have to be studied with its economic problems, its finance, taxation and tariffs. Of political philosophy, there is nothing peculiarly Indian, but what is derived from Europe. Such authors as Burke, Bentham, Mill and Maine are examples.

There is no comprehensive text book on all these subjects, and there is no school or college where they are taught. With the limited opening we have, it will be fruitless to suggest the institution of a school of journalism, although one is very necessary even to supply the limited demand. But the school in London under Professor Lees-Smith furnishes facilities for such a study as the calling requires. There provision exists for a comprehensive study of the duties of citizenship, for political life as well as for journalism. If a few of our best youngmen will go and study in that institution, availing themselves of all the exceptional opportunities of studying institutions and conditions, they can return properly equipped for the work of journalism and can play their part in public life. For such men it will also be well to get a couple of years' training in practical journalism

in England, by attaching themselves to some daily newspaper either in London or in one of the provinces. Those who cannot do this, must early establish a connection as correspondents or contributors with some daily journal in India. It must be understood that when a journal wants a new hand, it does not go beyond those who are known to its editor to possess the required talent and ability. Every journal has a number of correspondents from among whom it makes a selection when a new hand is required for its permanent staff; and if one has been known to the editor as a man satisfying his standard of requirement, he will naturally go in for him. To find favour with an editor, one must study, his paper, understand his policy and tone, and must endeavour to rise to his level of writing. In a newspaper, though different men write articles, the editor harmonises the whole to a certain uniformity in style, tone, and policy, so that the reader does not discover any difference between one article and other, and thinks that all have been written by one and the same person. That means that all who write in a paper must have the capacity to rise to one level ; and a standard journal maintains this level throughout, irrespective of the changes in the staff. You may read the same paper for thirty or forty years, and you do not discover that there has been any change of Editors during all this period, though there might have been many changes. The fact is that the staff is maintained and preserved so as to ensure perfect continuity. If four or five men are engaged in making up a paper, all of them become accustomed to its style, tone and policy, and when the chief falls away, one of his colleagues takes his place, and in his place another comes in and acquires his style of writing, his manner of treating topics, and his method of criticism. The London *Times* may be cited as the most conspicuous example of continuity in journalism. You may read the articles of the *Times* written a hundred years ago, and those that are appearing now ; and you find the same vigour of writing, the same style and tone, and, perhaps, also the same favourite expressions. To secure this, however, there must be a large measure of intellectual sympathy between the members of the staff ; those who act under an editor must be actuated by the same aim as himself, and must be thoroughly loyal. Unless they are of one mind and aim, and unless they all work together whole-heartedly, their maximum possibilities cannot be realised in the enterprise and success of the paper. They must be wholly devoted to the work, and the success and prosperity of the journal must be their common aim.

The work of an Editor is very responsible, and often anxious. He is legally and morally responsible for everything that appears in his paper, though it is impossible for one man to see everything for the printing and publishing of which he is held by law and public opinion to be responsible. Mistakes are often made, and it is impossible to avoid mistakes altogether in printing a daily journal. The work of the day, whatever

its nature and extent, has to be compressed within a certain number of hours. It imposes a heavy strain, more because it has to be done within a fixed time. You do not know what the next minute brings. It may be a telegram announcing some important measure of Government, the death of an important personage, some important negotiation of treaties, a frontier invasion or a war, or a Budget. On every such question you are expected to express your opinion forthwith, and if more than one such matter come up at a time, you must be prepared to deal with them simultaneously. You have no time to deliberate, and if you express an opinion without deliberation you cannot change it the next day. Every journal has a prestige to maintain, and it will not conduce to its prestige if it changes its opinions every day on the same set of facts. The opinion you once form, you will have to adhere to : and therefore it is important that it must be well considered before you express it within the shortest time, sometimes not even five minutes. Quickness of judgment is an essential virtue in an editor. He may sometimes confer with his colleagues. But very often he will have to trust himself and in God for inspiration, for wisdom, and for right judgment. He writes as the boy waits. Sheet after sheet goes to the printer. The whole thing is printed and placed before you in proof. You revise and send it down, and then it goes into the paper as you have passed it, and gets beyond your jurisdiction. Though the work is done, the anxiety is not over. You reflect over what you have written, and you think you might have used a different word there, a different phrase here, a different line of argument in another place. You realise that something might offend certain susceptibilities, that some expressions might have been happier. that some word might not appear to be in perfect good taste. These are but instances of what might trouble you after your day's work is over, after you have slept in the night and risen in the morning. I do not here refer to the worries of journalistic life, to the business part of it. But an editor, as Editor, has enough to severely try his mind and health, and one might easily break down under the strain which the work and responsibility impose. To obey the law is not so difficult a matter, though even here a journalist often runs risks. Certain things have to be published at once, or not at all. You have to depend upon your correspondents in distant places for your information. To refer back a matter will take time. And then when you find that the publication of a certain item is necessary in public interests, and that publication involves certain risk, you may be disposed to take the risk. A grave evil may exist and cannot be remedied except by publicity. A too cautious man may systematically keep out every thing about which he feels any the least doubt and thus ensure immunity, but one anxious to do public good ventures to run certain risk. The law of libel is very strict ; the complainant or plaintiff has but to prove the publication ; it is for the defendant to prove that there is no libel.

And, then, an editor, however careful, is served with lawyer's notices sometimes by too sensitive men who consider anything said in disparagement of them to be a libel, sometimes by men who read a libel into a thing because their conscience suggests that it implies more than it expresses. Many of these notices are frivolous ; but even frivolous notices cause certain amount of worry. I have sometimes wondered how lawyers consent to issue such notices, when they must know that an action cannot be maintained. I have referred to the study of law as a preparation for journalism. I would add that the law of libel must be specially studied by every one who has anything to do with journalism either as editors or reporters, or as correspondents. The word "alleged" is famous in journalism ; and there are amusing stories told of the excessive use of this word by sub-editors.

The sub-editor's work is not less onerous or responsible than that of the editor. In some respects it is more. He has to edit news and telegrams, reports of law courts and of public meetings. He has also much to do with scissors and paste. The genius of the sub-editor will go a great way in the attractive presentation of news, in furnishing to the readers the largest number of items within the smallest space, by abstracting, summarising, and even by re-writing what others have written. He has also to write notes and paragraphs. Leader-writing does not properly belong to him. But if he aims high, if he wishes to become an editor, he must be writing leaders also, so that he may gain experience and benefit by the corrections of his chief. He has to be particularly careful about libel. In the reports from courts or of police proceedings the use of " alleged " is frequent, and that is the sub-editor's favorite word to qualify statements made in courts and to Police officers. In order to be a capable sub-editor a man requires training in a newspaper office. Outside he cannot learn the work. In summarising or abstracting he must be able to make out the essence of a long article or speech, so that one reading the summary or abstract should not find anything strikingly new when he reads the whole. The items of news sent from outside or prepared by reporters may have not only to be summarised, but often re-written. Without a keen and quick intelligence and without a good command of the language, he will drag on with his work, without seeing the end. A previous apprenticeship in a newspaper office is essential before one undertakes the duties of a sub-editor ; and an editor would naturally like to allow opportunities for training to men who have the required talent, capacity and aptitude for the work. If I am to frankly express my opinion, and if I exereise my choice, I would have the best available men to take to the profession of journalism. A high standard of efficiency is especially essential when you have to work with a small staff. And a man who has not a very high standard of capacity in him, or does not possess the required aptitude, will do far better in some other sphere than in journalism.

Every profession more or less has its own traditions, etiquette and rules, but journalism in India has no such traditions, no such etiquette or rules as would apply to every member of the profession. Such prestige and consideration, as the press has commanded in this country, is due entirely to individual merit, to the example of individual journalists, and not to any common standard, common rules, or common code of ethics. Yet, it will be admitted that journalism like Law and Medicine should have certain etiquette and rules to bind its members. Perhaps, a time may come, not very distant, when journalism also may have its traditions and its rules, which it will be obligatory on every member belonging to it, to respect and obey; but until such a time comes it behoves every person who is a journalist and performs the duties of journalism to adhere to a high standard of conduct, not only in regard to himself, but in regard to what he does in relation to the general public and to other members of his profession. In England, they have associations of members of the press and, I believe, that in case of individual misconduct there is an opportunity for such a body to pronounce itself upon such misconduct, whereas, in this country, there is absolutely no restraint on a journalist except what public opinion or the fear of the law imposes, and the journalist who has the most powerful weapon in his hand is not, unless he has an inherent regard for propriety, likely to be restrained very much by a regard for the opinion of others. It is, however, to the credit of Indian journalism that by the force of individual example, journalistic writing and tone has very much improved. There is a greater sense of responsibility, an increasing regard for the feelings of others, a greater degree of fairness in criticism, on the part of the press; the standard of ability and knowledge has also risen; and I am sure that, unless the deplorable signs of lawlessness justify legislative restraints on ordinary freedom, there is a great future for Indian journalism to make it not only a paying profession, but a great force in the counsels of Government. I must add that to entrust journalism into the hands of men who are not trained or qualified for it, would be to lower its prestige and the respect and confidence it commands among the public. A high sense of responsibility must always actuate the man in charge of a newspaper. His power is great; his opportunities for misrepresentation are infinite; he is always in an advantageous position as against an individual, and he must always realize and he must try to impress upon those working under him, the duty they owe of absolute fairness to all. A journalist may command respect by force of his ability or superior knowledge, but the respect which he commands by these means will be greatly diminished if he lacks the concomitant essential in journalism, the virtue of fairness, and fairness is necessary not only in criticism, but in the presentation of facts and in allowing facilities for the representation of both sides of a question. There may be people who radically differ from you and who may criticise your views severely; but so long as they do not misrepresent you, so long as they do not distort your facts, you must give them as fair an opportunity as you would like to have to yourself. Unless you are thoroughly impartial, you can never hope to enjoy that general confidence which is essential for the prestige of a journal. A journalist need not sacrifice anything of his independence or his principles to command the respect of even those who are opposed to him, and when he has formed strong convictions or opinions, he must give expression to them and stand by them without fear or favour, but he ought not to snatch a victory over his opponent by the opportunity which he has, but which he would deliberately deny to others, because he has the power to do so.

HIGH PRICES AND THEIR CAUSES—.I.

By Mr. Sasi Bhusan Mukerji.

THE question of high prices has of late been engaging the attention of both the rulers and the ruled. Two of the recent Finance Ministers have pronounced their opinion on it and the question has been threshed out in the Supreme Legislative Council with much ado. It is also understood that the Government of India have made a suggestion that an enquiry should be held on the subject and the Secretary of State has passed orders on it. We do not know what are the exact orders, of the gentleman in charge of the Indian portfolio in the British Cabinet. We also hear that the Government of India will begin the enquiry into the causes which have led to the rise of prices of food in India this cold weather and an officer has been placed on special duty for the purpose. But as the subject is of vital importance to the Indians who are generally so miserably poor that they can barely obtain subsistence, it should be carefuly discussed from the people's stand-point.

The evil is not of recent growth. It has manifested itself ever since India entered into trade relations with foreign countries at the beginning of the last century. In the course of the famous speech on Indian Budget, Sir Henry Fawcett sounded the following note of warning;—"It is impossible to deny the remarkable rise in prices that has taken place in the last twenty years. Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Robert Montgomery, Mr. Harrison and others admit that it amounts to 40 to 50 per cent. ... ..." Since then there has been no indication of the tendency of the prices going down. True there have been some fluctuation of the market prices of food grains, but a careful observer of facts will easily discern that there has been an orderly oscillating movement upward. Earlier authorities may be quoted to show that the onward march of prices goes back to the earlier thirties of the last century. Until very recently armchair economists of Anglo-India attributed all this evil, together with the recrudescence of famine and plague to the pressure of population on land. They used to din into our ears that owing to early marriages and almost compulsory marriages of girls, the people of India increased like noontide swarms outstripping the productive capacity of the land. This may be a good ruse for playing the role of social reformer, with a vengeance, but a very rotten argument for a political economist to adduce. Probably the mistake has arisen from the incorrect and inaccurate figures of the earlier census reports. Subsequent census figures which have presumably a greater claim to accuracy show that the argu-

ment does not hold water. Mr. William Samuel Lilly, formerly of the Deccan Civil Service, thus writes on the point:—

Nor is it true that the population is largely or rapidly increasing. This is evident from the recent census. During the ten years ending on the first of March 1901, the addition to the population of the whole of India was under 7,000,000. There seems to be no sort of warrant for the assertion sometimes made that the day is not far distant, when the 287,000,000 in India will be doubled, nay trebled, quadrupled."

Every student of elementary political economy knows that the alteration of the ratio of demand to supply is one of the potent causes of the fluctuation of prices. The supply remaining the same, the price rises with the increase of the effective demand. If the demand outstrips an increasing supply, the price is still sure to go up. Now let us see whether this cause is at work in effecting the rise of prices in India. A cursory glance at the figures of our export trade will convince one that since the middle of the last century, our export trade—especially in food grains and raw materials, has steadily been increasing; of course allowance must be made for seasonal vicissitudes. Here is the annual average of our export trade for the last six quinquinium.

Quinquinium.	Annual average value. (in Rupees).
1875—80	62,49,55,180
1880—85	82,29,31,115
1885—90	92,68,09,932
1890—95	106,08,27,124
1895—1900	107,56,69,324
1900—05	134,64,71,940.

The above table shows how the demand for our commodities (which consist chiefly of food grains and raw materials) in foreign countries is increasing by leaps and bounds. Had we been able to meet this increasing demand from the surpluses of our produce, the wealth of the country would certainly have increased along with the increased export trade. But the frequent recurrence of famine, which is gathering strength as years roll by, attests to the fact that our export trade is encroaching upon our means of subsistence. Let us see how the export of our food grains is increasing steadily. I take the export of wheat which is the staple food of the majority of Indians. Previous to 1883-84, the export of wheat to foreign countries was very small. In 1851-52 the total export of wheat was 2,57,153 maunds. Up to 1863 it showed no signs of increase. Since then it has been going up under the press of sail. We quote the statistics of next nine years.

Years.	Total maunds.
1863—64	3,63,117
1864—65	3,95,863
1865—66	2,23,252
1866—67	98,086
1867—68	4,29,461
1868—69	2,49,971
1869—70	82,820
1870—71	4,51,629½
1871—72	5,23,029

Thus we find that during the period the export of wheat showed a marked tendency to increase. Since 1875, the export of Indian wheat to foreign countries has been increasing even more steadily and rapidly. I need not reproduce the long figures of such a long period but I think recent figures will serve my purpose. Here are the figures of the last quin quinium available :—

Years.	Exported wheat (in lakhs of maund).
1903—04	3,57½
1904—05	5,91½
1905—06	2,51
1906—07	2,20
1907—08	2,42

Thus we find that the annual average of the last quinquinium was 3 crores and 36 lakhs of maunds. Since 1851-52 the effective demand of our wheat in foreign countries has increased nearly *one hundred and fifty times.*

Let us now look to the export of rice. The earlier figures of the export of rice are not available, but we may easily guess how small was the quantity of rice exported from India when we find that the total value of the exported food grains from India in 1850-51 was only 75 lakhs of rupees. In 1870-71 the value of the exported rice from British India amounted to 4 crores and 14½ lakhs and from British Burma 1 crore and 87½ lakhs of rupees. The following statement shows how the export of rice from India and British Burma has been rising for the last fifty years and what has been its effect upon the economic condition of the country. I only give here the statistics of seven years commencing from 1858.

Years.	Amount exported (in tons).
1858—59	450,210
1859—60	400,094
1860—61	609,040
1861—62	687,931
1862—63	713,359
1863—64	814,697
1864—65	901,573

The rapid increase of export reached its highest point when a disastrous famine broke out in 1865-66 and there was a sharp falling of the export in the two following years. We all remember with horror how millions of people, died of sheer starvation throughout the land. That this state of affairs was brought about by excessive exportation of rice may be guessed from the following passages of Sir William Hunter—about Orissa where the fury of the famine was at its greatest :—

As far back as the records extend, Orissa has produced more grain than it can use. It is an exporting and not an importing province sending away its surplus grain by sea and neither requiring nor seeking any communication with Lower Bengal by land..........................and native merchants relying on the general super-abundance of grain, while curtailing their export transactions saw no necessity for importing............ No one had suspected that it would pay to carry grain by a long sea-route to districts that have always a large quantity to export, and *which, long after the rest of the province*

*had began its preparations for a year of famine, allowed a million and a half pounds of the precious commodity to leave its shores."** (*The Annals of Rural Bengal* page 46.)

For three years the rushing waves of exportation rolled backward. Again from 1868-69 they began to rush onward. Let us quote the figures.

Years.	Amount exported (in tons).
1868—69	742,793
1869—70	630,732
1870—71	804,090
1871—72	865,563
1872—73	1,164,698

The excessive drain of the staple food crop again told heavily on the economic condition of the country. In the year 1873-74 signs of another famine loomed large before the public gaze. There was an abrupt rise in prices. But the authorities paid no heed to the fact that the heavy exports of food grains had some thing to do with the rise of prices and the appearance of famine. Sir George Campbell insisted upon laying an embargo on rice, but the sane advice was not heeded by Lord Northbrooke. Even in the year 1877-78 when a terrible famine was raging in Madras, the export of rice from Calcutta exceeded 800,000 tons and from Burma 600,000 tons. † Since 1875 76 the exports of rice had been going up, and the export figures far exceeded 2 million tons in the year 1903-04. Let us quote the figures of the present century :—

Years.	Amount (in tons).
1901—02	1,701,450
1902—03	2,374,250
1903—04	2,750,100
1904—05	2,472,400
1905—06	2,151,900

It must be noted that with the increase of our export of food grains prices have been going up steadily exceeding the famine rates since 1906-07. The late Mr. H. A. D. Phillips wrote in 1885 :—

The average price of rice is about 20 seers per rupee. Where common rice sells at ten or eleven seers or 10s--2d a hundred-weight prices may be said to have reached famine rates ; or at least there is intense scarcity, which makes itself severely felt by the labouring classes, petty cultivators and artisans.

It cannot be denied that prices reached famine rates in 1902-03 and have exceeded them since 1904 05 but our export of rice though it has since then declined has not fallen much short of 2 million tons a year. Hence it may fairly be said the demand for our rice in foreign countries has increased *five or six times during the past fifty years.*

Besides wheat and rice the exports of flour, rice-flour, and paddy are rapidly increasing.

* The italics are mine.

† A portion of this export was no doubt sent to the famine-stricken province. But when a province is called upon to meet the deficiency of a sister province, common sense requires that brake should be upon its foreign exports.

The exports of food grains other than wheat and rice are also increasing. I do not wish to make the article tedious by quoting dry figures It would be sufficient to quote the following from the "Review of the Trade of India" for 1904-05 and 1907-08. Mr. J. A. Robertson writes in his review of 1904-05 :—

The favourable harvests of recent years have caused a great expansion in the exports of food grains other than wheat and rice. The previous record of 1903-04 has now been exceeded by nearly 57 per cent, the total being 426, 772 tons value 290 ¼ lakhs. Arranged according to magnitude pulse with 156, 346 tons has increased by 44½ per cent; Jawar and bajra with 126, 327 tons by 23 per cent; gram with 38,805 tons by 113 per cent; barley with 18, 827 tons by 233 per cent and other sorts (including maize) with 86, 707 tons by 131 per cent.

Mr. C. W. E. Cotton in reviewing the export trade of India in 1907-08 says :—

The food grains other than rice and wheat exported in 1907-08 increased by 53·1 per cent. or 1,702,818 cwt. but the figures are still much below those for 1904-05 The most striking increase was that of barley which rose by 1,131,678 cwt. or 303 per cent to 1,637,745 cwt. The bulk of these goes to the United Kingdom (963,205 Cwt.) Germany (438,613 Cwt.) and Belgium (208,088 Cwt.) Jawar and bajra increased by 345,811 Cwt., or 44·3 per cent to 1,125, 993 Cwts. Pulse which contracted by 48·6 per cent, to 1,097, 945 Cwt. in the previous year rose by 92·486 Cwts. or 8·4 per cent. to 1,190,431 Cwts. Other sorts including maize also increased by 25,553 Cwts or 38·3 per cent to 102,297 Cwts. and gram rose by 2,790 Cwts. or·9 per cent to 853, 873 Cwts.

From the above figures one may easily make out that the effective demand for our food grains in foreign countries has steadily been increasing. But the more the demand for the prime necessaries of life increases, the more rapidly prices rise up, not in proportion to the actual demand, but in relation to the actual demand or borrowing power of the customers. Our customers are the wealthy nations of the globe ; no wonder prices have been going up rapidly.

Now let me consider the question of supply. The popular belief is that owing to foreign demands, non-food crops have been usurping the lands which were formerly under food crops. Hence the supply of food grains has steadily been decreasing. This view is not confined only to the ignorant classes of the country, but has been corroborated by some eminent Englishmen who have eyes to see and opportunities to study the actual conditions of the country. In the course of his lecture on "Railways and Famine," Mr. Horace Bell said :—

With better roads and with the help of the Suez Canal, railways now serve to give the country countless outside markets for its produce and so keen and so well-to-do are her customers that possibly too much of the food of the people is drained away ; while areas which formerly grew only food grains, now yield oilseeds, cotton. jute and other products for use in European countries.

The fact that non-food crops have rapidly been encroaching upon those lands where food grains were formerly grown, cannot be denied. It is a

well-known fact that in Bengal jute now grows on lands which formerly used to grow only the *aus* paddy. A glance on both sides of railways, waterways and highways will show to even an ordinary traveller that the best and the most fertile pieces of land are appropriated for jute. Of late the cultivation of jute has become highly lucrative. Jute brings ready money, and earnest money, too, into the pocket of the simple rustic, who knows how to spend but not how to lay by. These two considerations have proved to be strong incentives for the cultivator to grow jute on his best lands. Consequently the cultivation of jute is increasing by leaps and bounds as years roll by, displacing the *aus* paddy from the most fertile lands. Unfortunately the official figures are not reliable. The popular belief is that the official estimate falls far short of the actual area under jute. This belief has of late been corroborated by the Dundee merchants. Still the official reports shows that the area under jute is rapidly increasing. In 1850-51 India exported jute to the value of Rs. 19,68,360, in 1870-71 it increased to Rs. 2,57,75,520 and in 1906-07 it exceeded 42½ crores of rupees. Making every allowance for the enhancement of prices, one may make out that the cultivation of jute has greatly increased. It must be remembered that the displacement of the *aus* paddy by jute has made the people of Bengal largely dependant upon a single paddy crop, namely the *aman* paddy crop.

Let us now take the case of oil-seeds. In 1850-51 India exported oil-seeds worth about Rs. 33,94,150. In 1870-71 the figures rose to Rs. 3,52,?3,050. In 1907-08 India exported oilseeds worth Rs. 16,81, 51,631. The export of cotton has largely increased since 1850-51. In 1850-51 India exported raw cotton to the value of Rs 3,47,47,890, in 1770-71 to the value of Rs 19,46,08,990, in 1907-08 to the value of Rs. 25,70,25,000. In 1907-08 the area under cotton was estimated at 22½ million acres.

The rapid increase of the cultivation of non-food crops has certainly diminished the supply of food grains. No wonder that with a diminishing supply and increasing demand prices have gone up very high.

Europeans are principally the customers of Indian food grains and raw materials. Being wealthy they can create effective demand to a very great extent. Certainly this is a potent cause for the recent high prices.

On the other hand, it is generally urged that during the last century vast tracts of waste lands have been brought under cultivation; hence the supply of food grains has considerably increased. This is not quite true. Increased area under cultivation does not spell increased supply of food grains. Vast tracts of reclaimed lands have been appropriated to non-food crops such as tea, coffee tobacco, etc. There is nothing to show that the supply of food grains has increased considerably.

A strong public opinion has of late been gaining ground that high prices can be abated, if Government condescend to discourage the free export of food grains. But there is much to be said for and against the opinion, hence I reserve its discussion for a future article in which I intend to take up the question of remedies. Increasing export means increasing demand and the more the demand, the more the tendency of prices to rise. But Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, the Finance Member of the Imperial Council, said in the course of his last year's Budget debate :—

I wish only to place before the council, a few plain facts which I have drawn from our published statistics for the years 1904—1907. These were three years of very active export and of normally very good harvests; and they may be taken as giving tangible evidence of the extent to which the food supply of the country is depleted by export. During these three years the export of food grains totalled 11½ million tons. The production of food grains in British India and the Native states is not ascertainable with anything like the same certainty, but a careful estimate suggests that it was not less then 200 million tons, for rice and wheat alone it was about 115 tons. If any reliance is to be placed on these figures then the export during the busy triennium which we are considering did not exceed 6 per cent of the supply. Within the same triennium however the price of rice and wheat in India rose by 25 per cent and most of other food grains showed a similar movement. Can it be seriously argued that an export trade, which diminishes the food supply of the country by only 6 per cent is directly responsible for such a remarkable change in values?

No one says that the rise of prices is due to one cause and one cause alone, namely, the partial depletion of the food supply caused by exports. But on the other hand it cannot be denied that diminution of supply is a potent cause of the rise of prices. If Sir Guy labours under the belief that the depletion of food supply by 6 per cent cannot raise the price by 25 per cent, then certainly he is mistaken. The prices of the necessaries of life do not rise proportionately to the diminution of supply. John Stuart Mill says :—

If the article is a necessary of life, which rather than resign, people are willing to pay for at any rate of price, a deficiency of one third may raise the price to double, triple or quadruple.

Tooke in his *History of Prices* writes:—

The price of corn in this country has risen from 100 to 200 per cent and upwards when the utmost computed deficiency of the crops has not been more than between one sixth and one third below an avorage and when the difficiency has been relived by foreign supplies. If there should be deficiency of the crops amounting to *one third* without any surplus from a former year, and without any chance of relief by importation, the price might rise five, six or even tenfold.

Hence it is evident that there is no proportional relation between the diminution of supply and the rise of prices.

THE CENTENARY OF CAVOUR.

By Mr. William Roscoe Thayer.

THE nineteenth century produced three statesmen of the first rank. One of these, Lincoln, saved a nation ; the other two, Cavour and Bismarck, created nations. In many respect, the hardest task fell to Cavour, who combined in a rare degree the patience, magnanimity, and personal charm of Lincoln with the dynamic masterfulness of Bismarck. He possessed besides a suppleness all his own. Count Camillo Benso di Cavour was born at Turin, August, 10, 1810, when the great Napoleon, at the height of his power, ruled Italy ; he died June 6, 1861, when Lincoln had been for three months President of the United States. The intervening fifty years witnessed more changes, not merely in the surface of life, but in men's ideals, than any previous half-century. Camillo was named for Prince Borghese, Pauline Bonaparte's husband, who stood as godfather to him. His father's family, the Bensi, had been conspicuous since the days of the Crusades : his mother, a De Sellon, of Geneva, grew up a Protestant and became a Catholic only on marrying Marquis Cavour. So far as heredity counted, Camillo, through his father, was a Piedmontese to the core : but through his mother, he had contacts not only with a different people, but also with a different religion. But heredity and environment do not work automatically ; Camillo's elder brother, Gustavo, had the same parents and the same associations ; but Gustavo grew up a Conservative with Clerical sympathies, while Camillo Cavour was one of the world's indefectible Liberals, and a model of religious toleration.

Educated at the Military Academy at Turin, with only a second son's expectations, he won repute as a youthful prodigy in mathematics, and at sixteen he received his commission as sub-lieutenant of Engineers. Subjected at home and among his associates to the prevailing doctrines of the Old Regime, how did he come by his faith in liberty ? It requires more than heredity or environment to explain that. Although the reactionary Piedmontese government shut out modern political ideas, under pain of death, and a most bigoted priesthood added religious to political blight, Cavour seemed to draw in from every wind that blew his life-giving principles. That is the way of genius.

Love of justice and passion for liberty were born in him His visits to Geneva, which was then one of the intellectual centres of Europe, helped to form him. There he met men of international reputation, from whom he had tidings of the social and political theories that the next generation would attempt to apply. Before he was twenty-two, however, his career in the Engineers was cut short. Having expressed too much sympathy for the Revolution of July, he was rusticated to the Fortress of Bard ; and then, as soon as he decently could, he resigned from the service. At Turin in those days, a young noble had no prospects outside of the army and the court ; and Cavour, as a second son, could expect no fortune ; but he was too proud and too energetic to waste his life in such idleness as his small allowance might have secured for him. His family, though affectionate always, regarded him

as a black sheep; the King and reactionary court looked distrustfully at the young rebel. To escape from this tedium, he offered to go down into the country and manage a farm. No doubt everybody at Turin breathed a sigh of relief when he was buried, for good, as they thought, at Grinzano. In that sleepy old village he seemed as safely beyond the current of historic achievements as Abraham Lincoln seemed then in his frontier town in Illinois. But Cavour, to the surprise of the family, made the farm pay; and in due season, he was promoted to the care of very large estates of Leri. Thenceforward, he was his own master, rich, as riches were counted in Piedmont. Three things besides material wealth, came to him through his years of virtual exile: an exhaustive knowledge of the agricultural and industrial conditions of his country; training in handling men—not merely the bailiffs and farm-hands, but the merchants and bankers with whom he had transactions; and self-reliance. The experience which would have crushed or embittered many ambitious youths became, thanks to his indomitable will, the fountain of his strength

II.

He went on several journeys to France and England, where he studied the practical working of government, and especially the new applications of machinery to industry and transportation. He made the acquaintance at Paris of statesmen, writers, financiers, and men of the world. He read profoundly in the literature of sociology and of economics. He wrote essays on these topics, which Swiss and French reviews printed. He discussed the English Poor Laws, Irish Home Rule, and Free Trade, and he marked out a railway system for the Italian Peninsula which should serve both commercial and patriotic ends. As all that the lion eats turns to lion, so all of Cavour's tentative activities during the years of his apprenticeship had a Liberal aim. He promoted primary schools and savings banks, agricultural clubs and whist clubs—and the Government suspected that even the whist club which Cavour frequented concealed a purpose to talk politics.

But Cavour was no conspirator. He abhorred conspiracy, not because it might be bloody, but because it was proved ineffectual. The abortive revolutions of 1820 and 1821, the abortive uprisings of 1830, the abortive Mazzinian attempts of 1834 and 1843, convinced him that Italy could not be redeemed by plots. Once convinced that a tool was worthless, he wasted no time over it; on the contrary, he regarded as criminal those enthusiasts who went on using it He was, the earliest of the statesmen of the first rank to give due weight to evolution; to understand that only training in constitutional methods, for instance, can prove their worth; to insist that Utopia itself could not profit a people that plunged into it without preparation.

Italy then was truly, as Metternich sneeringly described it, a mere "geographical expression," broken up into half a score of petty states. Immemorial traditions, not less than local jealousies and dynastic rivalry, kept her asunder. She required Liberty, Independence, and Unity. The tradition of individualism warred against her Unity; the Papacy, which for a thousand year shad depended on foreign support, warred against both her Unity and Independence. The inheritance from feudalism and the Renaissance, shared in common with most of Europe, warred against her Liberty. Over all, loomed the tyranny of

Austria. Her revolution of 1848, waged at first by her princes in behalf of constitutional liberty, independence, and a federal unity, failed. Charles Albert, the most earnest and loyal of the princes who fought in that year, declared that Italy needed no foreign assistance. His motto, *L'Italia fara da se*—"Italy will work out her own salvation"—did great harm; but he was not responsible for the backsliding of the other princes, including the Pope, which led to the collapse of the national movement, and to the Restoration of 1849, in which every Italian ruler except Victor Emanuel, Charles Albert's successor, became the willing vassal of Austria.

III

Cavour came into public notice shortly before the outbreak of 1848, by founding the *Risorgimento*, the first modern newspaper in Piedmont. Thenceforward he urged on the war against Austria, which, if victorious, would have secured independence to the Peninsula. Liberty, in the form of a parliamentary government, was promised in each State, and if independence could be maintained, the promise would have to be fulfilled. Then the final problem—unity—could be solved by the Italians themselves, without interference from outside. But the calamity of 1849 left the whole Sisyphean task to be undertaken anew and in some respects it seemed harder, because, besides the permanent opposition of Austria and Reaction, there were dissensions among the Italians, the paralyzing sense of failure, and a belief that the princes had deliberately betrayed the cause. The Pope, too, had formally declared liberty to be incompatible with his Papal authority.

In 1850 Cavour was appointed Minister of Agriculture. "Take care," said Victor Emanuel, "this little fellow will turn you all out." The King's prophecy came true within two years, when Massimo d'Azeglio stepped down from the Premiership and Cavour took his place. Form that time till his death, he so far outweighed the other statesman of Italy—and there were men of ability among them—that he seemed to be a constitutional dictator. "seemed" only, because he had to fight for every inch of progress, and he scorned to resort to dictatorial compulsion. His devotion to constitutionalism was so strong that he insisted on a full discussion in Parliament of each measure he brought forward. Unlike Bismarck, he never "jammed through" his bills, nor by a threat of resigning induced his sovereign to coerce the representatives of the nation.

Briefly, he aimed at making Piedmont a model of self-government—to prove thereby that Italians were capable of using their liberty. He introduced railways and telegraphs, he promoted agriculture and industries, and by adopting free trade principles—at least to the point of reciprocity—he extended Piedmontese commerce. That, on the material side. On the moral and intellectual, he laboured for national education, for the disestablishment of ecclesiastical courts, and of palsying clerical intrusion and privileges; and he upheld freedom of speech. Politically, by coalescing with the Left Centre, he created an invincible party, which believed in progress and national emancipation. Within five years, little Piedmont stood before Europe as the champion of Italy.

But this was not enough. Cavour saw that Italy could never expel Austria without foreign aid. He saw also that that aid must come from either France

or England. To secure their friendship and gratitude, he joined them in the Crimean War. That gave him the opportunity, at the Congress of Paris, of solemnly warning Europe that she could expect no lasting peace until the Italians were freed from Austrian, Bourbon, and Papal misrule. From that time forward he hypnotized Napoleon III and compelled that visionary despot to devote the army and treasure of France in behalf of Italian liberty. After the Peace of Villafranca, which like a bolt from the blue, upset Cavour's calculations, he turned to England, and with consummate skill played England off against France. Thanks to this strategy, he prevented the French Emperor from intercepting Garibaldi's wonderful campaign in the Two Sicilies, and Victor Emanuel's march on Naples. When he died prematurely on June 6, 1861, all Italy, with the exception of Venetia and the shrunken Papal refuge, was free, independent, and united.

The little Piedmont of 1850, crushed by war, almost bankrupt, troubled by doubts, clouded by differing counsels, was transformed in 1861 into the Kingdom of Italy. The magnet of four millions had drawn to itself eighteen millions. If little Portugal in our time should liberate Spain from a powerful oppressor, and should make Spain Portugal, we should have a parallel to the redemption of Italy under Cavour's leadership.

IV.

Many men and many factors went to that result. Mazzini the prophet, Garibaldi the paladin, Victor Emanuel the loyal standard-bearer, exiles and martyrs unnumbered, publicists, poets, soldiers, volunteers —all wrought for the desired consummation. But without Cavour, the end could not have been attained when it was; without him, it might never have been attained in durable form. For he represented Reason. Was it not Oxenstiern who bade his son observe by how little sense the world was governed? If governments are becoming more aud more the field of the expert, then Reason will be more and more the attribute of successful governments, and this aspect of Cavour's achievement will command increasing admiration

The most masterful of Opportunists, he possessed certain fundamental principles from which he never departed: therein lay his strength. He would go round an obstacle if he could not dislodge it; he would wait; he would concede in non-essentials: but he neve compromised where, as he said, honor was at stake. By honor, he meant allegiance to those principles which were the breath of life. At twenty-two, he wrote that he even dared to dream of waking up some morning as the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Italy. Nothing that he did in the intervening years contradicted that dream.

So his life-work is remarkably homogeneous: one step leads to the next,—and all move toward the goal. We do not feel with him as we feel with Gladstone, and other eminent statesmen of the second class, that his later career was a refutation or denial of his earlier. And yet, few nation-builders have been more persistently misrepresented than Cavour was. On his entrance to public life his opponents insinuated that he was a reactionary in disguise. Caricaturists drew him with the queue which symbolized the *codini*. Enemies inflamed the mob against him by declaring that he was cornering the grain market, and the mob attacked his house and hoped to lynch him.

Mazzinians painted him as the abject tool of Napoleon III, when in fact, the Emperor was a marionette in his hands. If he had heeded Mazzini and not persuaded the French to embark on the war of 1859, Italy could not have been united; and yet to-day Radicals repeat the old calumnies that Cavour loathed the idea of unity, and strove only to aggrandize Piedmont. His almost life-long ordeal of unpopularity and libel—we must go back to the vilification poured out on Washington and on Lincoln for parallels—simply fortified his resolution. He never considered how any act that he deemed necessary would affect his popularity. Cavour insisted on monarchy as the corner stone of Italian unity, because the Italians were not then ready for a republic—nor are they now. Every advance won by his policy brought unity nearer: yet his enemies de lared that he opposed it! Fanatics in Germany have laid a similar charge against Bismarck; and there was a time when Abolitionists denounced Lincoln for not proclaiming that his first purpose was to free the slaves.

Of Cavour's master-strokes in statesmanship, his Crimean Expedition has long been regarded as unequalled. But his decision to invade Umbria and the Marches in 1860 involved an immensely greater risk. So his winning Napoleon III over at Plombieres; his forcing the war with Austrian, in spite of the hostility of all Europe; his foresight in assuring the liberation of the Duchies and Emilia, even after he himself had resigned; and his collusion in the Garibaldian expedition—these, not to mention earlier achievements, stamp him as a master. He had audacity, suppleness, tact, and swiftness. and he never gave up. If his Matterhorns were impregnable on the south, he scaled them on the north.

Outside of Italy—in France, in England, in Germany, and in America—the wisest judges have long assigned to Cavour a place among the highest. Not only did he accomplish great things with small means; but he worked in concerns which must always touch civilized men. He established freedom from ecclesiastical tyranny, which always corrupts both Church and State; he believed that mankind are capable of indefinite improvement, and that it is the business of government to secure this to them; he trusted liberty. His guide was Reason—Reason sensitive to the deepest emotions, Reason inspired by the noblest ideals. Civilization pendulates between hope and despair. On the back-swing; there is a scramble to Conservatism; old creeds are revamped; the Jesuit, ecclesiastical or political, walks abroad unchallenged. But Cavour was the child of one of humanity, great moments of hope; himself the embodiment of that disciplined and indestructible optimism which ever and anon knocks at the heart of the race and bids it up and forward. Such a man works not for his own people only, nor for a single epoch, but is a precious possession of mankind forever.

I cannot close this brief survey of Cavour's intricate and amazing career without referring directly to the man himself. Small in stature with large head blond hair, spectacled blue eyes—half closed on account of near-sightedness-rosy cheeks, and smiling lips, he looked at first glance the good-natured country banker, rather than the consummate statesman. He was the easiest of men to approach, equally at home with monarchs, and with the peasants on his rice plantations. Everybody testifies to his charm. That somewhat rigid soldier

La Marmora, writes at a time when he had personally broken with the Prime Minister: 'Cavour is the most *seductive* man in the world.' Madame de Circourt, to whose Salon at Paris the elite of Europe flocked, told Nigra that even when Cavour first called, an unknown young man from remote Piedmont, she recognized in him the 'most magnanimous soul' she had ever met. Magnanimous, he truly was. He allowed no personal dislike to prevent him from seeking the co-operation of any one who could help Italy. He thought so little of personal considerations, indeed, that his enemies could not credit his disinterestedness. He lived up to his maxim that in politics, nothing is so futile as rancour. His buoyant nature made men forget the burden that he carried. His gift of playful irony—like Lincoln's humour—brightened even the most tragic crisis and enabled him to relieve the tension of many a gathering storm in the Chamber. He turned aside much rhetoric with a genial laugh.

It is a commonplace to say that he was Machiavellian. Statecraft in his time was not always candid; it is not candid in our time; neither is war nor business, nor society; and even in daily intercourse with our intimates, we are not always candid. Life might become intolerable, if we were. I say this not to palliate deceit, but as a reminder that we must not pharisaically misjudge statesmen. We must learn how the methods they employed compared with the standards of their times. What surprises me more and more, after many years' acquaintance with Cavour's writings and speeches, is their downrightness, their frankness. This and their lucidity go together. He did in fact, as he jokingly remarked, deceive the diplomats of Europe by simply telling the truth. His reticences, his evasions, even his deliberate deceptions, will be excused, so long as a general in battle or as the ruler of a State is justified in acting by a code which he would as individual be condemned for using.

Cavour's wit, his large good-nature, his insatiable interest in life, his simplicity, made him the best of companions. The younger men who served under him came to love him as a father. When he died, one of his lieutenants, La Farina, wept, not for the loss of the chief on whom his own fortunes depended, nor of Italy's mainstay, but for the loss of his best friend. La Farina was no sentimentalist; nor were many others who, like him, shed tears. In Cavour's later years, the people of Turin, having divined his character, lovingly nicknamed him "Papa Camillo." So his nearest counterpart among modern statesmen was plain "Father Abraham" to his countrymen.—N. Y. N.

THE HINDU SACRED YEAR.

By Sister Nivedita.

WHETHER or not it is true, as some have held, that all sacred years are built out of the wreckage of more ancient civil years, it is certain beyond any possibility of cavil or question, that behind the Hindu sacred year lies another, a weather-year, full of the most loving and delicate observation of Nature. Each great day as it comes round, is marked by its own particular glinting of sunlight on the leaves, its own rare bite in the morning air, or its own dancing of the blood at noon. When, in the early autumn, the tiny jonquil-like flowers are found fallen, at dawn, from the *shefalika* bushes, and the children pick them up blossom by blossom for worship, men say, with something of the gladsomeness of childhood itself, "Mother is coming! Mother is coming!" for they remind them of the festival of Durga, by this sign near at hand. In spring-time when the *asoka* tree begins to adorn itself with its bunches of red flowers that are said never to bud till the tree has heard the footsteps of a beautiful woman, and the long slender buds of the leaf-almond begin to appear, the low castes are glad, for now is coming Holi, the Easter of primitive peoples. On the birthday of Krishna, late in the summer, it *must* rain, in memory of the night so long ago when the Lord of all was carried as a babe, by Vasudeva, through wind and storm. The Kali-puja, with its myriads of tiny open lamps, seems always to happen on the night of some marriage-flight amongst the insects, and always the little winged creatures suffer death by fire on these altars of the Mother.

But there is no nature-festival to be compared with that of *Rash*. All through the growing moon of the beautiful month of *Kartik*, the women have gone to the Ganges-side at evening, night after night, with flowers and lamps to offer vows. Now has come the full moon. It is the first of the cold weather. The winter flowers are beginning to bloom. The world is full of relief from the lessening of the long heat. The very trees seem to rejoice in the unwonted coolness, and this was the moment at which Krishna went with the cowherds to the forest. Throughout the rains, the cattle had been kept in the villages, and now they were taken to the distant pastures. Oh, the joy of the forests! the long moonlight nights, the whispering trees, the enfolding dark,

the presence of the Cowherd who is in truth the Lord Himself! In these temples which have the necessary buildings, the image of Krishna is taken at evening out of its sanctuary, and conveyed in procession to a little Chapel of the Exposition, there to be worshipped publicly until the morning. Here for three days in the small hours of the night, when the moon has scarcely yet begun to wane, come the women to sit and worship, or to go round and round the altar in a circle, silently praying. And choirs of priests chant the while. And image-sellers drive a brisk, though almost silent, trade, and the precincts of the temple are thronged with life, imagining itself out in the forest amongst the cowherds, playing with the Lord.

Every full moon has its own special morsel of lore. To-night, at some hour or other, the sweet goddess Lukshmi will enter the room, and we must on no account sleep, lest we miss her visit. Again, it is unlucky this month for the heads of the family to see the moon. Therefore they must not look out of the window, and this is well, for to-night is the Orchard-robbing festival, when the boys of the village have right to enter the garden and carry off ripe fruit. What wonderful coincidence fixed it to fall just when the harvest of the jack-trees is ready for gathering!

The whole of Hinduism is one long sanctification of the common life, one long heart, and relating of soul to the world about it, and the love of pilgrimage and the quest of sacred shrines speak of that same desire to commune with nature as the village-feasts. The holiness of nature is the fundamental thought of Hindu civilisation. The hardships of life in camp and forest are called austerity. The sight of grass and trees is called worship. And the soothing and peace that come of a glimpse of a great river is held a step on the road to salvation, and the freeing of the soul.

How did this passion for nature become fixed and ritualised, in the series of the year's fasts and feasts? Here opens out a field of most fruitful study. A fixed system of universal consent, in matters such as these, always presupposes some central authority, which persisted long enough not only to pronounce authentically on disputable matters, but also to radiate as custom what had been thus determined. This central authority existed in India, as the empire whose seat for nearly a thousand years was Pataliputra. By its rulings was Hinduism, in so far as it is universal throughout the country, shaped and determined, and in order to know exactly what this was in its daily working, it would be necessary to study

in detail the worships of Madras and the South. For here we have, more or less in its purity, the Hinduism which grew up, antithetically to Buddhism, during the Buddhist period. It differs in many ways from that of Bengal, since there the faith went through a much longer period of elaboration. Pataliputra was succeeded by Gour, the Guptas by the Sens, and in the year 728 A. D. Adisur Sen, Emperor of the five Gours, as was his title, brought to his capital, and established there for the good of his people in matters of faith and scholarship, the celebrated five Brahmins of Kanauj. And they made the face of Bengal to shine, which is a brief way of saying, probably, that this king established an ecclesiastical college of reference at Gour, which went on impressing its influence on the life of Bengal, long after the original five, and their king, had been gathered to their fathers. Even after the Hindu sovereigns had fallen altogether, and Mohammedan rulers had taken their place, this Brahmanical influence went on living and working. It was in fact the Bengali form of the Papacy, and before we rebel against it too much, before we asperse it too bitterly for the cerecloths of orthodoxy which it bound upon the people, we ought to know what were the problems that it had to solve. It gave continuity to the social development of the community, in face of the most appalling political revolutions. It made the faith a strong ground of taste and manners and gave it consciousness of its strength. It made the village into a true civic unit, in spite of complexity of caste and origins. It maintained the growth of the literature and the epic-making faculty. And above all, the supreme gift of Hinduism, it went on deepening and widening the education of the people by that form of mind-cultivation which is peculiar to India, the form that she knows not as secular schooling but as devotional meditation, the power to which she will one day owe her recovery, should it be given to her to recover her footing at all, in the world of nations.

The power of the Brahmin was never broken in Bengal, till modern education brought new tests to try men by. Mohammedanism had never touched it. The new religion of Chaitanya was not even defiant of it. Automatically, it had gone on working and growing. The world is always ready to call any overthrowal of the old by the name of reformation, because in anything long established there is always much that needs overthrow. Pruning and weeding are a parable of necessary processes in thought and society also. But how can we call this a reformation unless we

know what new ideals are to be substituted for the old? That destruction has taken place is indisputable, but does destruction alone constitute reformation? In any case Bengal owes her own solidarity, her unity in complexity, her Hinduistic culture and the completeness of her national assimilation, more perhaps to Adisur and the Brahminical college that he established, than to any other single fact of these many centuries.

If this theory be correct, if the wider Hinduistic formalism was the work of the Guptas of Pataliputra, and the orthodoxy of Bengal more especially that of the Sen kings of Gour, a wonderful amount of history lies in the study of the differences between the two. We shall in that case expect to find more ancient and less homogeneous fragments of the faith lying outside Bengal. We shall look moreover to study the development of the popular faith in parallelism with Buddhism, outside Bengal. For here a long obscuring process has been superposed upon the other. Those elements of Hinduism in which it has marked affinities to the classical and pre-classical religions of Europe must, for the most part, be sought outside, in distant provinces, and at the conservative centres of the great pilgrimage-shrines. But for the potentialities of Hinduism, for its power to bind and unite, for its civilising and liberalising effect, we cannot do better than go to Bengal. Here we may disentangle gradually the long story of the influences that have made it what it is. Did the first image-makers come from China? And when? In what order were the main worships introduced? What was the original place of the planetary deities, of snakes, and of trees in the scheme of things? Who were Satya-Pir and Satya-Narain? These questions, and a thousand like them, have to be answered, before we can understand, and assign time and source to all the elements that have gone to the making of the *sanathan dharma* in Bengal. Yet wherever we go, north, east, or west, we shall always find that India herself has been the inspiration of Hinduism, and that the faith without the land is a name without a person, a face without a soul.

ANCIENT INDIA'S COMMERCIAL RELATIONS—III.

THE ROUTES TO INDIA AND THE EXPORTS.

By Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar.

WE shall now discuss the routes which were followed by merchants in coming in and going out of India. By the overland route, merchants could go to Bactria by the north-west passage. Thence they went to Balk where they spent some time in marketing and after that to Babylon where Indian commodities were highly valued. From the shores of the Caspian Sea the goods were then despatched in ships and after that *viâ* a land-route and the Black Sea, they reached the Mediterranean Sea. From Babylon to Palmyra and thence to the Levant where Indian commodities had a ready sale. Generally European goods were exchanged for Arabian and Indian goods in these places. The route was an adventurous one—the commodities being generally borne by camels. As soon as the water-route was discovered, this came to be abandoned.

When the Phœnicians were engaged in this profitable commerce they used to send goods to Tyre *viâ* certain ports on the Red Sea. This too was of considerable disadvantage. When they got in their possession Rioncula on the Mediterranean Sea, they used to carry Indian goods to the Red Sea whence they were carried to some distance by land, reshipped there and reach Tyre. Although goods had to be shipped over twice, but still this was found of greater advantage than the overland route. When Tyre was destroyed by Alexander in 332 B.C., Alexandria was founded by him and as thus a fresh opening was made ; for nearly eighteen centuries, goods were despatched by this route. Alexander personally recommended this route but he could not live long enough to carry his projects. Immediately after his death, Ptolemy Lagos ascended the throne and a light-house (which was then considered as one of the seven wonders of the world) was built by him at considerable expense. His son Ptolemy Philadoephus tried to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Suez but failing to do this, founded a town Berenice on the coast of the Red Sea. Goods were carried from India to Coptus whence they were taken to Berenice and thence to Alexandria through a canal and the river Nile.

As long as Egypt remained independent, this route was followed. European manufactures used to come to Berenice and thence taken to the ports on the Arabian Sea and Persian gulf. Thence they were carried to the Indus. The merchants did not confine themselves to the towns on the Indus and in all probability all the ports on the coast line were also utilised. To make a monopoly of this lucrative trade, the Kings of Egypt kept ready a strong fleet—both merchantmen and men of war*.

Even when the Romans conquered Egypt, this route was followed. We had already mentioned of the mariner Hippalaus. Hippalaus took advantage of the monsoons and made the navigation less adventurous. Pliny has left us an account from which we gather that European goods were carried through a small canal and the Nile. Coptus was 303 miles off Alexandria. From Coptus Berenice was 258 miles. During the middle of the Summer season, the fleet used to leave Berenice and reach the Babelmandeb where it used to take some rest and then proceeded direct to the Malabar coast and its port Mancirice. It took nearly one hundred days. It took 12 days to reach Coptus, nearly as many days to reach Berenice, 30 days to reach the Red Sea and 40 days were spent in the Indian ocean. Such is Pliny's account from whom we gather also that those merchants who used to sail to the Bay of Bengal or to Malacca used to start from some port in the mouth of the Godavari river. Arabian and Grecian merchants used to go to Patna *via* Tribeni.

From the Periplus we know that Muslin, various kinds of chintz, silk threads, indigo and other colours, cinnamon and other spices, sugar, diamonds, pearls, steel, medicines, scents and occasionally slave-girls also were exported from India.

Many of the commodities mentioned by Periplus formed and form now the staple exports of India. Sir George Birdwood writing in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 7th February 1879, wrote that "The History of Modern Europe and emphatically of England, has been the quest of the aromatic gum-resins and

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* Vide Idylls of Theocritus.

"Even lesser Asia and her isles grew pale.

As o'er the billows pass'd thy crowd of sail." *Idylls XVII.*

Idylls XVII. Some of those vessels were very large. Two of them had 30 benches of oars, one had twenty, 4 had 14, 14 had 11, 30 had 9, 37 had 7, 5 had six and seventeen had 5 rows The magnitude of the undertaking can be gauzed from this list.

balsams and condiments and spices, of India and the Indian archipelago." Abbe Renandot in his "Anciennes Relations des Indes" (1718) writing of two Arab Merchants who travelled in the 9th and 10th centuries in India says that India then exported tea, porcelain, spirits and rice.

Idrisi of Sicily speaks of porcelain, fine threads of the Coromandel coast, chillies and spices of Malabar, camphor of Sumatra and Lemons of Hyderabad (1099-1186). Benjamin of Tudela travelling in India in the 12th century speaks of India's exporting silk, cloth, pulses and spices. He also writes of cinnamon, ginger and other sorts of spices as found in abundance in South India. Ibou Batula, the well-known traveller, writes of aloe, camphor, sandalwood, jambolin, mangoes, oranges, some of which were exported. The venetian nobleman, Marino Samito, came to the East some time early in the 14th century. He writes of various spices being exported from India. The Genoese traveller Hieronimo di Santo Stefano coming to India in the end of the 15th century speaks of garnet, jacinth, cats' eyes and various sorts of spices which had a ready market. Ludovico di Varthema of Bolougne wrote that 300 ships of other countries used to come to India for merchandise. Indian silk was, according to our author, exported to Persia, Tartary, Turkey, Syria and Barbary. Ships and merchants from Mecca, *Bengal*, Tennaserim, Pegu, Coromandal, Ceylon, Persia Arabia, Ethiopia used to come to Calicut. Lastly the letter which the Tamorin of Calicut wrote to the King of Portugal clearly speaks of the export of India "Vasco de Gama, a nobleman of your household, has visited my Kingdom and has given me great pleasure. In my Kingdom, there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper and precious stones in great quantities. What I ask from thy country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet."

Ah, gold and silver! what hast thou brought to us!!!

"Tamil land had the good fortune to possess three precious commodities not procurable elsewhere, namely pepper, pearls and beryls. Pepper fetched an enormous price in the markets of Europe and was so highly prized that when Alaice the Goth levied his ware indemnity from Rome in 409 A. D., his terms included the delivery of 3,000 pounds of pepper." In Gibbon Chap. XXXI we find the following :— "Pepper was a favourite ingredient of the most expensive Roman cookery and the best sort commonly sold for fifteen denarii or ten shillings the pound. Pliny Natural

Hist., xii, 14. It was brought from India and the same country the coast of Malabar, still affords the greatest plenty."

Referring to the pearl fishery of the south, Mr. Sewel in the *Journal of the Roval Asiatic Society* in 1904 refers to this. Mr. Vincent Smith in his admirable *History of India* also thus says: "The pearl fishery of the southern Sea, which still is productive and valuable, had been worked for untold ages, and always attracted a crowd of foreign merchants. The mines of Padiyur in the Coimbatore district were almost the only source known to the ancient world from which good beryls could be obtained and a few gems more esteemed by both Indians and Romans."

In an article on "Roman coins found in India," Mr. Sewel in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic society* speaks of the Roman amies which circulated in southern India freely and Roman bronze small change, partly imported and partly minted at Madura, was commonly used in the Bazars. So much connexion grew up with Rome and the south of India that "considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in southern India during the first two centuries * * * while the 'beautiful large ships of the *yarns*' lay off Mauziris to receive the cargoes of pepper paid for by Roman gold" (Vincent Smith).

The Tamil poems speak of the importation of *yavana* wines, lamps and vases and their testimony is confirmed by the discovery in the Nilgiri megalithic tombs of numerous bronze vessels similar to those known to have been produced in Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era. And again, "the Tamil states maintained powerful navies and were visited freely by ships, from both east and west, which brought merchants of various races eager to buy the pearls, pepper, beryls and other choice commodities of India and to pay for them with the gold, silver, and artware of Europe. (*Ibid.*)

Looking glasses formed an important item in the goods for presentation to the Moghul Durbar by the foreign merchants but it has been proved now that glass was first invented in India whence it was exported to Rome and other countries. For Justinian's silk-work industry and the route and commercial connexion with Rome and India, Gibbon has left us an excellent account in his *Decline and Fall of the Romau Empire* Empire, chap, XLI.

CONTACT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. A HISTORICAL STUDY.

By Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao.

THIS is no political pamphlet or even an essay. It is intended to be only a historical introduction to the serious study of a great problem upon the proper solution of which the well-being of this country and of the races living in it so largely depends. For good or for bad—I say for good—India has become the meeting ground of several different races of the world. There are those who maintain that

> East is East and West is West
> Ne'er the twain shall meet.

They represent a respectable class and have a respectable following all over the world and have to be, in consequence, reckoned with. The terms 'East' and 'West' are used, I am afraid, by these people rather loosely and in a too restricted sense. The East is in one sense, we might well remind them, the West and the West, the East for, do we not know, that Eastern cultures is of older standing in the history of the world, and is the Western is of comparatively recent growth? Western civilization owes not a little to Eastern minds and to its contact with the East. It was, I believe, the Rt. Hon. Bryce, one of the most cultured Englishmen now living and H. M.'s present representative in the U. S. of America, who said that no religion had had its origin in any country bordering on the sea. The religion that the Western nations profess is the religion of an Eastern seer, who owed—as we now know and see—his signal success not a little to the careful preparation that the soil had undergone under the hands of Buddhist Missionaries sent out from the time of Asoka onwards. And who was Paul, the greatest name after that of the founder of Christianity? Was he not Eastern? Earlier than that there is found, at least from the similarity of doctrines propounded by the Greek and Indian schools of philosophical thought, that the Greeks had been influenced by Indians, through Persian sources. That is, I may add, the opinion of so sober a Scholar as Professor MacDonell of Oxford. "Similarly, the dependence of Pythogras on Indian philosophy and science certainly seems to have a high degree of probability." For 'almost all the doctrines ascribed to him, religious, philosophical, mathematical, were known in India in the sixth century B. C.' The coincidences, in the words of Professor McDonell, to whose interesting book I am much indebted here, are so numerous that their cumulative force becomes considerable. The principal doctrine of Pythagoras—that of metampsychosis—appears without any connection or explanatory back-ground in his case, and was regarded by the Greeks

as of foreign origin. He could not have divided it from Egypt, as it had no such doctrine to give at the time. It may be that Pythogoras did not visit India—though later tradition speaks to the contrary—but he could have easily discussed with Indians in Persia. So at least Prof. Macdonell holds similarly the neo-Platonist philosophy has been held to have been influenced by the Sankhya system ; at any rate several of the views propounded by the leading Neo-Platonists have their counterpart in India, and we must remember that there was brisk trade between India and Alexandria during the 3rd century A. D. Again, the influence of Sankhya philosophical idea on Christian Gnostics of the 2nd and 3rd centuries is now declared 'undoubted' though current Buddhist ideas of the time may equally well have influenced them. Similarly, in Mathematics. The very numerals which the whole world uses are of Indian origin, though called Arabic, because they reached Europe through Arabic sources. Every student knows the decimal system, but few care to remember that it is of Indian ancestry and that the progress of civilization has been considerably assisted by it. Greeks apparently borrowed their ideas of geometry from Indians, for as has been pointed out, the latter had to practically use it in their ritualism, as parts of the Yajur Veda and the Brahmanas clearly indicate. Though early Indian Astronomy owed much to Greek and Roman ideas, later it influenced Europe through the Arabs, whom it taught both in India and at Bagdad. There is a great deal in Indian Medicine, as we see it in Charaka and Susruta, which travelled westwards, through Arabic sources again, and ruled paramount in Europe until the 18th century. The Fables of Pilpay—Vydyapathi or Vidvan, name of the Brahman narrator—so well known all over Europe and the intellectual amusement of children there during the whole of the middle ages, are of Indian origin. And the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, a manual of Christian theology (8th century A.D.) has been shown to be Buddhist in origin, Josaphat the Prince in it being the corrupted form of the Indian term Bodhisatva. The fables and parables which form its very salt are of Indian origin, and its author, John of Damascus, is a saint both in the Greek and Roman Church. That is rather interesting, though not as startling to us as to Europeans who, I think rightly, take nothing for granted. The chess, the well-known indoor game to which the *Times* devotes a page every week, is of Indian origin and has travelled westward, again through Arab sources. In modern times too, this influence of the East upon the west has been going on. Schopenhauer and Hartmann owe their pessimistic philosophy to India. Goethe's prologue to his Faust is modelled entirely on *Sakuntala* which produced, as we know, a most profound impression upon him. The teaching of the classics has been practically affected in Europe by the increasing knowledge of Sanscrit there now. The finest hymns of Heine and Arnold's immortal *Light of Asia*

owe their very essence to Sanskrit poetry. Philosophical concepts of the Indians and other Eastern Nations are influencing the minds of the most cultured men in Europe and is bound to go on for a long time yet to come for the general good of the world.

Similarly the debt of India to Europe whether in Ancient or Modern times, is not little. During its earliest days—to take only India with which we are best conversant—India undoubtedly owed a great deal to Greek art and sculpture. In later times, however, Greek art died out altogether, and indigenous art—as typified in the later Chola—and florid Vizianagar and Nayak styles—triumphed. Similarly, in astronomy; though here also, its subsequent advance was so rapid as to teach the taught through its pupils. Scholars have gone farther still and propounded theories to show Greek influences in the Epics and in the drama; in the Krishna stories and latterly Dr. Grierson has been at great pains to show that the bhakti literature of India owes a great deal to Christianity. The same story may hold good of the Persians, who, with the Indians, may be said to have formed the chief nations of the East in historical times, coming into close contact with the West, from the earliest times known. Action and interaction, is yet going on, and is bound to go on and let us hope the best results will follow, to the general good of our country and humanity at large.

In the modern times, this interaction has been more rapid. The railway, the telegraph, the post, indeed easy communications generally, the growth of the press, the platfrom and general literature,—have all had a hand in this transformation of the East on the one hand and the West on the other. Each is borrowing from the other whatever it has found assimilable and suited to its own genius. Surely there is more than the mere poet's vision in the oft-quoted lines of Tennyson:

And East and West without a breath
Mixt their dim lights, like Life and Death,
To broaden into boundless day.

This ever going on contact between the East and the West, each influencing the other (as we have seen) in turns, has resulted in the establishment of British rule in India. Now, the practical question to which I would like to draw attention is : Does Indian history afford any help towards the solution of the difficulties (for they are no less) created by this contact ? India has large Hindu and Mohamedan populations, and there are besides the immigrant Europeans, mostly officials, but with interests of paramount importance in the proper governance of India. For the general well-being of the country, the interests of each of these has to be protected, but in such a manner, that it may not trench upon the others rights and also I may add in a manner that it may not hamper the growth of a happy sentiment of nationality in the land, a nationality that is, I must

add, not exclusive of the Government established by law in India. Indian history has known kings of foreign countries dominant in it long before the British. Persians ruled in parts of Punjab, Darius Hystapuis ruled over, for instance, Gandhara and the Indus country. Alexander's satraps (Kshatrapas) ruled over Panjab and Sindh and it was Chandragupta, who drove off their successors early in the 4th century B.C. After Asoka's death, there were Greeco-Bactrian Kings in Western India who ruled for, less than century in it. The most celebrated of these was the Milinda (or Menander *circa* 150 B. C.) of the Buddhist writings. Greeks disappeared finally from India about 20 B.C. The Scythians again (the Sakhas) the ancestors of the modern Jats, and whose era (the Sakha era, 78 A. D.) is now so well-known, ruled from Kanauj on the Ganges to parts of Central Asia, for about 3 centuries from 120 B.C. to 178 A.D. Kanishka, of whom we have heard so much in connection with the recently discovered Buddhist relics at Peshawar, was the greatest of them all. The Pallava Kings of South India have been held by a large body of distinguished authorities to have been of Arscasidan Persian Descent. To them we *owe* the magnificent rock cut remains at the Seven Pagodas, near Madras, and elsewhere. Now, one thing is certain seems fairly clear about these several foreign princes and it is this: though foreign in blood, they were really national in sentiment. Nay more; they adopted, in some cases at least, the popular religion of the country and did all that an indigenous line of kings could do for it. That is how, we learn, they secured the good will of the people to themselves and their Government. The British Government may not possibly go to that extent, but can (and has to a certain extent already taken the intitiative in) more and more making its system of Government a popular and national one. That policy is supported by history and ought to be strengthened in every possible way by all lovers of this country.

Another idea suggested by history in regard to this difficult question is the one of equal treatment of the races living in it. Even during the octatic days of Manu, the law required the king to be essentially just in his dealings with his subjects. In later days, purely Indian kings, who became national so to speak, were never confronted by race problems of the modern type. They had at no time such a large population of foreigners residing in the country as to make worth while the consideration of such a subject. But, as we shall see presently, they made adequate provision for safeguarding the interests of foreign traders resident in their dominions. I think the same was the case during the Vizianagar days (1337-/565 and later). But the Mahomadan kings of Northern India had to face such a problem, when they began to make permanent settlements in India. Their systematised religion stood in the way of their coalescing with the peoples they had conquered; this was not the case with the earlier foreign rulers of

India who had been enthralled by the glamour of Indian religion. Their solution was a just and equitable one. It was to hold the scales even between their own people and the conquered. Distinguished men from both sections were appointed to the highest offices, both at the Royal seat and in the Provinces and it should be said to the credit of both, that the trust was never betrayed. Man Singh in Bengal, and Todar Mull are well known instances and a great many more may be quoted. The recognition of this principle is absolutely necessary in India and it is noteworthy that the British people, both here and in England, seem alive to it, as recent events show.

A third idea that a study of Indian History suggests to us in the consideration of this complicated problem of Race contact is the treatment of Indian traders and settlers beyond India, in British dominions. That is now a practical question and any guidance that history may give us ought to be highly useful. Trade attracted India to foreigners from the earliest times. During the Mauryan times, foreigners were found apparently in very large numbers at Patliputra, the modern Patna. During Chandragupta's time a special Board of the Municipality of that town was entrusted with the duty of helping them in every way. I may add that the system of Municipal Government is not new in India, but is as old as, at least Chandragupta's day, *i.e.* 4th Century B.C. The Municipal Corporation was of six committees —not one like the standing committee of the Madras Corporation, which would do well in the interests of rate payers and the general public to adopt the old Patna model—and the second one was entrusted with the duty of taking care of foreign residents in it. "Those of the second", we read in Srabo's Fragments of the Indika of Magasthenes who was the Ambassador of Seleucus the Persian and Median king (311-302 B. C.), "attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives". There were thus no restrictions against settlements of foreigners in the king's dominions, they were assisted by special men appointed by the Board, they were given suitable lodgings, escorts and in times of need medical attendance. If they died they were given decent burials, and the Board administered their estates until they sent their assets to those entitled to them, *i. e.*, in their own countries. Similar duties are known to have been performed by the Greek Proxenoi but European historians themselves have not admitted as proved Greek influence on Indian administration in this matter. Indeed, the whole system of Chandragupta's administration is purely Indian and betrays no traces of Greek influence. The foreign traders of his time were shown special concessions in their several trades. The Superintendents of Commerce of the State

were specially directed—so we read in Chanaky's *Arthasastra*—to show favour to those who import foreign merchandise; mariners and other importers of foreign articles, *i.e.* foreigners. They were favoured with the remission of trade-taxes; and they were exempted from being sued for debts unless they were local associates and partners. Similar treatment may be presumed to have been extended to the Roman colony inferred to have been resident—from coins, near our modern town of Madura. That should prove of special interest at the present time to those who take an interest in the British Colonial treatment of Indian traders and settlers in Africa and elsewhere.

Such are some of the practical lessons we learn from a historical study of this difficult question. Providence has brought together the Easterns and Westerns together in this land and elsewhere, and the general principles on which the treatment of questions affecting their relations, status, and interests deserve to be dealt with that sense of high-souled Liberalism that characterised the old rulers of this country towards their foreign subjects, and that characterises the generality of the English people towards India. If that is done, none could complain of the contact of the races with that irksome feeling that finds expression in the Imperialistic poet, whom I have already quoted. Man, said Aristotle, is a political being, *i.e.*, a social animal; he desires society; he wanders away by instinct from his home; and that spirit is irrepressible. Contact of races, more especially in these days of quick communications, cannot be avoided. If judiciously handled, it is bound to foster that fraternity amongst nations that means not only the stoppage of war but also the cultivation of those arts to which nations by ages of inherited character are best suited to evolve to the common benefit of humanity.

THE NEED OF INDIA—EDUCATION.*

By Mr. Jatindra Nath Sen.

" Now man, we say, is a tame, domesticated animal; for when he receives a proper education, and happens to possess a good natural disposition, he usually becomes an animal most divine and tame ; but when he is not sufficiently nor properly trained, he is the most savage animal on the face of the earth. On this account a legislator ought to regard education neither as a secondary object, nor yet as a by-work."—*Plato.*

IN a previous article in this *Review*, we delineated the present state of India, and endeavoured to show that, however, divergent may be the views and methods of work of the so-called different parties, the leaders of every party should carefully study the indispensable wants of the people they represent, taking account of their peculiar circumstances and natural propensities. An expert architect would calculate beforehand the various kinds of materials required for the construction of a magnificient building, in like manner should our patriot, ere he builds up a mighty Indian nation destined to play an important part in the future history of the world, anticipates the real needs of his countrymen just at present. In the following paper, we propose to dwell on one of the immediate needs of India, *viz.*, education which now forms the topic of heated discussion in the press, on the platform and even in the Council Chamber of our rulers. There was a time when gifted men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayananda Saraswati, Keshav Chandra Sen, had to exert their energies and oratorial skill for convincing the people that the only medium through which a degraded country can attain prosperity is the proper education of its inhabitants. But happily this is not the position of affairs *now*, when it would be somewhat difficult, even for an orthodox pessimist to single out a town, nay, an influential village where there are not at least a dozen educated men thoroughly acquainted with the highly beneficial results secured through education by the progressive nations of the world. Truly has the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale observed : " It is surely unnecessary at this time of the day for any one to assert the necessity or to vindicate the wisdom, the humanity and the patriotism of a policy of universal education for the mass of the people. " It is for this reason that no Indian leader should refuse to lend his helping hand to the cause of educating his countrymen for whose welfare he has consecrated the best portion of his life. The Government also are keenly alive to the fact that the best way to secure abiding peace and happiness in this land of jarring discords is to educate their subjects and therefore they are not backward in devising well-thought schemes for the improvement of Indian education. They fully grasp John Ruskin's well-known sentence, "Educate or Govern, they are one and the same word. "

To be true and just, the chief sources of imparting higher education to the Indian people for less than half-a-century have been the five Universities which were established after the arrival of the famous Educational Despatches of 1854 which may be aptly called, " the charters of Indian education. " While we

fully admit that there are defects and defects of the gravest character too in our university system of education, still we would be judging wrongly if exclusively lose sight of the immense benefit it has rendered to the country. It is this State-education that has enlightened a section of the people, however, statistically insignificant it might be, who otherwise would have remained an immovable and illiterate mass neglectful of the duties to their motherland. Does not this education lie at the root of the teaching of such popular leaders as Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee ; the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale ; and Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji? Has not this education given birth to such a rare administrator as the late-lamented Mr. Romesh Ch. Dutt ; such a giant lawyer as Dr. Rash Behari Ghose ; such a great scientist as Dr. J. C. Bose ? The existing system of education has again effected a great revolution in the minds of the people—a revolution which has, to a great extent, conquered the baneful prejudices and deep-rooted bigotry to which we had been wedded for centuries together and heroically struggled to emancipate us from the many mischievous social customs, manners and religious superstitions eating into our vitals for centuries together. Thus the result of this education is not altogether gloomy. Whatever insinuations are brought against it, it is undeniable that the little progess India has made, be it political or Social, is primarily due to this and this education alone.

Reasons shown above withhold us from ignoring totally the prevailing system of education, so we disagree with those who hastily jump to the conclution that since it is defective in many respects, the sooner we get rid of it the better. Our contention is that we should manfully stick to it always trying to free it from those defects which threaten manifold evils in the distant future. One word here to avoid misinterpretation. The readers should not infer from our adherence to the current system of education that we do not advocate a better substitute if it is forthcoming, but what we mean is that there is no need of abolishing an old system easily amenable to reformation, however defective it may be. Reform and not re-form is our motto; construction and not destruction is our method. We like here to point out, one after another, the numerous defects of Indian education with practical suggestions regarding their speedy removal.

The most fatal of the defects is the abuse of training of our boys during their childhood. There is very little hope for the future regeneration of India so long as our children are grossly neglected both by their parents and teachers who hardly maintain the training of the early years of the man as the basis of the education of all the subsequent stages of his life. A great German educationist said, " Give me the first six years of a child's life and I care not who has the rest." This remark though true to every letter has hardly any effect upon us. Here the parents think their duty end with sending their dear sons to Schools where dogmatic teaching and a fearful association of book, birch and pedagogue, the three terrible figures of childhood predominate. To rescue our children from this poisonous system of child-education we have no other alternative but to introduce the kindergarten system of education, originated by Fredrick Frobel, a German educationist philosopher who sacrificed himself to the cause of his country's education and whose glorious life full of strenuous activity demands careful perusal from us all. The kindergarten

system (German: kinder-children, Garten-garden) compares the life of a child to that of a plant. A small seed contains within itself all the possibilities of a full-grown tree, inasmuch as when sown, it—from a rudimentary stem, develops in course of time into a plant, which branching out on all sides in green foliage, later on puts forth fruits and flowers thereby fulfilling the ultimate end of its divine creator. Similarly, a child enters into the world with all the possibilities of manhood hidden as it were, within the seed of its mind and grows by slow degrees in the hourly and daily contact with its environments. Again, young plants are very carefully nurtured by competent gardners, so that they may not wither or have stunted growth. This must also be the case with the rearing of human plants which can best be accomplished in schools where free and spontaneous development of the internal powers of the children is possible and where education is based on some fundamental laws of child nature such as, " Spontaneous activity of the child ; co-relations of his body and mind ; the development of his senses ; curiosity and inquisitiveness ; observation and experimental activity." It is necessary to give here some of the subjects through which this ideal of education can be realised.

(1) " Play " must be mentioned first owing to its being the most natural means of developing the self-exertion of children and for the simultaneous culture of their physical, mental and moral qualities.

(2) " Kindergarten gifts " are toys for children constructed on the first principles of Science and Mathematics. When the boys amuse themselves with handling them, they most unconsciously learn the primary rules of arithmetic and geometry.

(3) " Kindergarten occupations " are certain childish occupations very interesting to children and they stimulate their self-activity and rouse their love of arts and industries. Stick-laying, paper-cutting and paper-folding, mat-plaiting, clay modelling, cardboardwork, drawing and brush work are some of the principal items of Kindergarten work.

(4) " Kindergarten games and action songs." Many lessons are converted into games accompanied by graceful movements and sweet songs which render the lessons more vivid and interesting to the children who carry a lasting impression of them.

(5) According to the respective stages of the grasp and understanding of children, they should be taught the elementary principles of botany, natural history, agriculture, physics, chemistry, physiology, hygiene and domestic economy.

(6) " Story-telling " forms a great educator of infant's minds. " The simple fact, that children listen with rapt attention to many an interesting tale suited to their understanding, suggests, that story-telling should form the most efficient method of cultivating their attention. For without fixity of attention and the habit of concentration no sort of lesson can be imparted to them."

(7) Then come Reading, Writing and Arithmetic which quicken the mental faculties of children.

(8) Moral and religious teaching should be imparted to children not merely by verbal instructions but by encouraging them to act according to moral laws.

How to utilise this system for the future good of our country?

First, we could certainly commit a grave mistake if we accept this novel system in *toto* as it is in the west which differs fundamentally from our traditions domestic and social life. We must adopt it to our present needs and circumstances. Secondly, every educated Indian should be made well informed of the principles and methods of the kindergarten teaching and he should seriously ponder as to how "a fusion of them with the system of thought and life in India" may be effected. Thirdly, it is highly necessary to raise the standard of qualifications of the "infant teachers" of our country. without properly trained teachers there is no possibility of success of the kindergarten system anywhere. Lastly, the mothers of our country should be properly educated, for if home and school do not work harmoniously, no permanent result can be gained from this new system.

We are glad to note here that the Government have been encouraging those who are striving to make the system familiar to our country. Our best thanks are also due to the Froebel Society of Calcutta, very recently started under the immediate supervision of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and under the guidance of men like Sir Guru Dass Banerjea, Mr. Saroda Charan Mitra and others. We sincerely hope the Society will be able to perform the mighty tasks it has undertaken upon its shoulders, doing thereby "knight's service" in the country. Is it not high time for the other provinces as well to copy the lofty example set forward by this pioneer society of Bengal?

Next we turn to our youngmen. The higher education they receive possesses a very ruinous element, *viz.*, "the lean of examination," as Dr. Williams calls it in course of a thoughtful lecture he recently delivered in Calcutta. The "examination" fails to enable the Indian student to think for himself, and as Sir George Clarke in his last convocation speech rightly pointed out, "to analyse, ascertain and exercise the spirit of critical enquiry." The learned editor of the *Indian Education*, while discussing this examination—mania, observes; "Education would tend to become the formation of the habits of observing, reasoning, thinking for oneself, and exercising the spirit of critical enquiry, such habits never were and never will be fostered by the mere learning of facts for neither teacher nor student has time for any thinking or critical enquiry while a certain amount of work has to be 'done' in a certain 'all—too—brief' period." The passionate hankering after passing examinations by hook or by crook runs so high in the minds of the Indian students that they cannot appreciate the true value of education which will be clear to any sensible man who cares to go through the above quotations minutely. Theirs is the unhappy lot in life to "grind" lecture notes and to them that professor is sure to be the most popular who excels others in dictating, "clear-cut" notes. Most of the examinees hardly read all the text-books the Universities recommend but they solely depend upon notes of their teachers. Honourable exceptions are there, no doubt, but to the majority of cases, cramming and cramming only leads to their salvation in the shape of passing examinations. Consequently, it is no wonder, if we see "the school-boy or the graduate who faces the world with a stock of assorted knowledge of dates, areas, formulæ, roots and rubbish are somewhat ill-equipped". They work to pass and not to know" says a writer, "they do pass and they do not know." Their time would have been better employed if the teachers had devoted their energy and intelligence to developing their potential facul-

ties, forming their character and strengthening their bodies. In that case they would have been different men with far better chances. Mr. Roosevelt, the other day, impressed the very same idea upon an assemblage of Egyptian and European notables at Cairo when he emphasised that true education was not the matter of curriculum, but of wisdom and sincerity of character which was more important than mental subtlety. This is true of nations as well as individuals. When shall we realise that education is the preparation for life and not the mastering of useless facts, even when they are learnt to be permanently remembered?

The only remedy which would strike at the root of this evil system lies in the hand of our university authorities who ought to do away with "examinations." In one word, let them "abolish examinations and turn from cram to education, from the pass-list to the man, and from injury to salvation"

If we are asked the motive which prompts our students to pass examinations, then we emphatically declare it to be the hope of getting higher salary in some remunerative employment after their leaving colleges. This feature in student life should be rigorously condemned in all countries and in all ages. Too much worship of Mammon in course of study by our students has in fact, created the discontented graduates in the country. "It is reasonable, for the student to keep in view the means of bye and bye earning a livelihood but the dominant motive should be to be servicable and to be well-equipped to give and to enjoy giving, effective service" to his country and his age.

Again the poor Indian student must naturally be tired out with the overwhelming number of lectures he has to attend in course of his college career, the result being that he cannot find sufficient time which he might have applied to the acquisition of knowledge from the out-side world. Thus in India, self-culture which essentially constitutes the basis of all who have won distinction in letters, science or art is a thing practically unknown. Surely, "that which is put into us by others is always far less ours than that which we acquire by our own diligent and persevering effort. Knowledge conquered by labour becomes a possession—a property entirely our own." But if the short period of a student here is occupied entirely with attending lectures, what possibility is there of realising the truth contained in the above lines? Mr. Orange in his Quinquennial Review of education in India holds that a boy has to attend a minimum of 1,120 lectures for his B. A. "in practice, this minimum is excelled in most colleges." The report of the university commission on Calcutta colleges says: "Education has with only rare exceptions been made to begin and end with lectures which are almost the only educational means recognised." What we should require is less lecturing and more study of books and things, and "the use of libraries ought to be the corner stone of the teaching of the future." In his work on *University adminstration*, the late president of Harvard University brought to light the fruitlessness of plain lecture without carefully orgainsed aids because "it left the student in passive and inactive condition and procured from him no out-put except spasmodic efforts at memory."

Want of moral education is another great harmful defect here. It is useless to dilate upon the importance of moral education which is known to

us all. Mr. Emanuel Sternheim, in his admirable paper on "Religion and Life" in the *Hindustan Review* of September 1909, very appropriately observes, "Culture in itself, intellectual asthetic, cannot control a civilisation, a state, a nation, nor even a single life. That which truly constitutes civilisation is not its outergarment or polished manners and cultured tastes, but its inner soul and self-mastery. It is the power of *conscience and moral restraint*, which create, develop and maintain character." This fact will be best illustrated if we once turn to hundreds of our intellectual giants who have honourably secured the *blue ribbon* of their *alma mater*, but the moral side of their life is so very dark as makes us almost shudder with indignation. "Even in war" Smiles writes, "Napoleon said the moral is to the physical as ten to one." To quote Ruskin, "All education must be moral first, intellectual secondly." Indeed, the future upheaval of India hinges largely upon a mighty association of cultured men of sterling character built upon strict moral laws, because "that which raises a country, that which strengthens a country, and that which dignifies the country that which spreads her power, creates her moral influence, and makes her respected and submitted to, bends the hearts of millions and bows down the pride of nations to her—the instrument of obedience, the fountain of supremacy, the true crown, throne and sceptre of a nation;—this aristocracy is not an aristocracy of blood, not an aristocracy of fashion, not an aristocracy of talent only; it is an aristocracy of *Character*. This is the true heraldry of man."

It is a pity our universities have not thought it wise to include moral education as an essential part into their curriculum and thus they are casting a golden opportunity of making our students "men" in the strictest sense of the term. What little moral teaching they receive at present, they get it from such institutions as the Central Hindu College of Benares, the Arya Samaj Colleges of the Punjab, the Gurukul academy of Hurdwar and the Missionary Schools and Colleges all the country over; but most of these institutions fail to appeal to those concerned owing to their being too much *denominational* in character. We advocate the separation of moral training from theological education because the heterogeneous religious sections of the Indian people can never be brought under the sway of a general theological instruction. It is an acknowledged fact that in Missionary Colleges we scarcely find half-a-dozen Mahomedan students who protest against the teaching of morality through the medium of Christianity. Again, if the "Gita" or the "Vedantam" were taught in Hindu Schools, people belonging to non-Hindu faith would shrink from joining them. To be on the safest side, therefore, we have to introduce moral training devoid of theology. "I don't think for a moment", says the Minister of Education in England, "that morality can *only* be taught on a theological basis."

The report of moral instruction and moral training of eighteen countries in the world, published by Mr. Gustav Spiller will fully convince our readers that all civilised states, however much they may differ with regard to religious education in public schools, have understood the advisability—yes, the necessity—of moral education, and they are fast formulating schemes to give their ideas a practical shape. Should India alone remain silent in this age world-wide transition and reform? We think not so.

It is a scandal that none of our Universities regard physical training as a compulsory factor in student-life. The only form of exercise availed by the average Indian student consists of something like a short stroll down the streets or around public parks. The percentage of those who take parts in manly, efficient athletics and gymnasium is so small that it deserves no special mention here. Not only does this neglect of physical health amongst Indian students bring in its train moral degeneration but it becomes a most "potent, pre-disposing factor" of creating in their minds "a tendency towards discontent, unhappiness and inaction, and reverie—a tendency which in England has been called Byronism and in Germany Wertherism."

"All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy" is an old proverb; and dangerous boys are usually dull and morose. The University authorities should therefore provide not only examinations but also athletics and the opportunity for open-air recreation for their students. The University that does not see that every thing required is done for the development of the body of the students along with the development of their mind is really storing up a world of future troubles and it is only turning up hordes of unfit citizens, inefficient not only physically but morally, for as Herbert Spencer said, "to be a good man, one must be a healthy animal." The parents and guardians of our young men are also to blame for the sheer neglect, on their part in not allowing and encouraging them to strengthen their bodies. The parents of the west are ideal in this respect. We ask our readers to remember the precious advice Malthus gave to his son on the necessity of physical culture. It is popularly known that many Bengalee parents suspect something wrong if their sons happen to cherish any desire of being good "Athlets" whom they qualify by the cant name of "Goondas."

There is no such thing as University social life in this country; hence "Community life" of a university is conspicuously absent here. This most deplorable condition which does not create a healthy opinion among the students and their professors ought at once to be removed, otherwise we would have to face perpetual disorders in the state. Social gatherings such as those which influence the student-life in England, originating a sense of unity and friendly feelings amongst each other and bringing the students in close contact with their professors who take interesting part in their lively discussions, innocent mirth and merriment are really few and far between in this unfortunate land of ours. The significance of the social side in a University's life can never be ignored, because " it has been the back bone of the universities of the west.........which has produced the rigid moral rules summed up in two words 'good form'." But in India most colleges have a few " ill attended societies exercising quite a minimum of influence." What is most lamentable is the bad habit of passing detached and isolated life cultivated by our teachers and professors, so that a healthy common life is impossible to be fostered here—a life in which " all the members of the college, teachers and pupils alike, will share, so that in after life a student may look back to the years spent in college as a period of special advantages and happiness." Both His Excellency the Viceroy in his august capacity as chancellor and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Mukerjea as Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, most vehemently held out, during the last convocation, that it must be the duty of all teachers, European or Indian, to be in constant touch with their pupils,

thereby exercising a lofty moral influence over their conduct, and controlling their youthful impulses by directing them into such channels of thought and action as would prove conducive to the welfare of their country. The Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha, as president of the last annual meeting of the Calcutta University Institute, observed that if there have been any departures in student life of India leading to sad aberrations, then it is due mainly to the want of personal supervision of the European professors over their pupils and to the discourteous treatment they often receive at their hands. Our students of to-day are to be men of to-morrow ; so if they are harshly treated by their European professors or find in them the least amount of native-hatred rankling in their bosom, they naturally cannot bestow their hearts worship upon them, nay, some of them may turn out to be the staunchest of European-haters, and who knows they may not overstep the limits of *hatred* by having recourse to such dastardly attempts as are being witnessed for the last two years ?

The remedy lies in two very practical things. First, "there will be hostels near the colleges and carefully supervised, in which ultimately nearly all the students of every college, with comparatively few exceptions, will live either by choice when their own houses are near.........or by the rulers of the college. The Principal and some at least of the Professors will live in close proximity to the college and hostels." It would be all the more productive of good results if the students and professors combined discuss such burning topics of the day as education of the people ; village-sanitation ; improvement of agriculture, and manufacturing industries of India ; early marriage ; marriage of child widows ; and other diverse matters, the clear solution of which would materially help them, when they in after life, take up the work of their leaders. Lastly, "whenever practical, and means will be more and more found to make it practical, there will be open grounds attached to each college in which healthy games, cricket, football, hockey, lawn-tennis can be carried on and failing this there will be at least a fully equipped gymnasium."

In conclusion, the present system of education is markedly divorced of the true elements of Indian nationality—a fact admitted on all hands. Throughout the civilised world, it is being realised that education if it aims to be efficient, must be built upon the "constructive ideals" of the taught and upon the sure foundation of existing culture. But this is being persistently ignored here by those who have become westernised in their ideas, thoughts and habits. Wisely has Dr. Coomarswamy said, in course of his learned discourse on the present state of Indian education, "Indian literature, history, music, art, philosophy, all these are subordinated to a still rampant Macaulayism, which makes English culture or rather so much of it as suffices for professional and utilitarian ends, the one ideal." We remember the most persuasive manner in which Mrs. Annie Besant impressed upon the audience, when she delivered an eloquent speech in Calcutta a few years ago, that it is shame and disgrace on the part of our youngmen who are made to know much of Milton, Shekespeare, Byron, Shelly, Keats and other famous poets of the west, but when they are asked about the national poets of India they begin to utter mere nonsense. How many of them care to read the highly instructive lessons of the *Mahabharatam* and the *Ramayanam* which

are in no way inferior to any of the epics of the world? The fame of India as a land where philosophy has attained the highest stage of culture and development is indisputable, but while Mill, Spencer, Hamilton, Martineau, Bain and others are dazzling our students with their still infant speculations, there is no, or very little, hope for Indian philosophers to find a way into their troubled hearts. Indian students, just like parrots, geneologically quote the Kings of England from the earliest period to the present time, but they will disastrously fail to name all the Hindoo Kings who once held the Sceptre of power in this vast country. While thay can display a wonderful stock of knowledge of the geography of many countries out-side India, they don't know well the geography of the respective provinces in which they live. Leaving aside literatures, arts, or music, if we turn our eyes to the religious and social life of the people, it will be found that here also a good deal of injury has been done by the present system of education. Lest we be regarded as too much pessimistic and dogmatic in our statement, we wish to be backed by the opinion of Sir George Birdwood, a renowned Imperialist who said, "English education in India has destroyed their (people's) love of their own literature, the quickening soul of a people, and their delight in their own arts, and, worst of all, their repose in their own *traditional aad national religion.* It has disgusted them with their own homes .... it has brought discontent into every family." Useless it is to comment on the above which is as clear as sunshine and which demands serious attention.

Let us now come to the remedy which does not consist in the mere control of Indian education by the Indians themselves, but in developing the people's intelligence. as Dr. Coomarswamy points out, through the medium of their own natural culture. Alongside the western education they have been receiving, they should also be taught the hidden treasures of India—her vast philosophical wisdom, the melodious musings of her natural poets, their lives and character, and the real history of their country. Secondly, the vernacular of the people should be given the first and foremost consideration, however reasonable arguments there may be in favour of making English the "Linqua franca" of India. We should remember that it is madness on our part to dream that we can reproduce the English public School on Indian soil.

A GREAT SOUTH INDIAN PARIAH.*

By Mr. S. Z. Ali, B.A.

IT is indeed a rare pleasure to review the life of a great Pariah, a pariah who rising above his kin has thrust his attention upon us, pariah who, coming as he did within the charmed circle of modern civilisation, was content to remain within the pale of H nduism or, more strictly speaking, on its outskirts and successfully resisted the more alluring embraces of Christianity. Maidara Nagayya, *anglice* Nagloo, the father of Hotel Enterprise in C. P. and Head Gomasta (Deputy) to the Desai setty (Kazi-elect) of "Mahanadu" (a motley assembly of Madras colonists residents in C. P. and Berar) is a very interesting personality. The author, who is no other than the son of the subject of the Biography, unravels the life-story of his sire with such an engaging candour that, in point of faithfulness, we cannot help comparing it with Boswell's immortal Life of Johnson. Nagloo has found a biographer in his son who outboswells Boswell in portraying his father's character. The small volume, although it has some faults of Broker's Edition of Boswell's Life, is very readable and abounds in many interesting details. It teems with lively episodes in the early careers of C. P. Civilians who afterwards became full-blown Lieutenant-Governors of Indian Provinces. It gives us peeps into the lives of Indian Military Officers of the 40's and 50's of the last century. When bitter and palatable truths had to be spoken, the author in his biography has spared neither Englishmen nor Indians and least of all his own father. It is because of this that the book is worth a perusal and repays the reader amply. It has other attractions It throws side-lights on the history of the times, giving a graphic account of the Nagpur Section of the great Indian mutiny : it presents to the reader a harrowing scene of an Indian famine : it gives a good picture of C. P. before the " opening up " of the backward province : it touches on the insanitary condition of Hyderabad-Deccan before Sir Salar Jung's time : it affords food for reflection to students of witchcraft and sorcery : and, above all, it is an eloquent message of uplift for the depressed and downtrodden *mlechchas* who are, by social ostracism, outside the pale of Hinduism and forces on us the lesson that even careers like

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* By his son M. N. Venkataswami, M. R. A. S., M. F. Z. S. (Khoosoldas, Hyderabad, Deccan.)

Nagloo's "departing leave behind them foot prints on the sands of time."

To our biography. There is a legendary air about the fall of Nagloo's progenitors (in the third or fourth remove) from *Cumma* (Sudra) to Mala and the consequent translation of the family name from *mutyala* (lit. Pearly) to *maidara* (lit. upholsterer of bamboo and rattan work). The facts recorded are that during a terrible famine of the eighteenth century, one member of the family, hard pressed by hunger, tasted the "forbidden flesh" and thus fell in the social scale. For this sacrilege they were hurled down from the rather high estate of silver mace-bearers in the employ of the Rajas of Ongole (Madras Presidency) to the humble rank of rattan Workers, figuring henceforth in the social scale as *Malas*. There is also another interesting legend as to why the family do not observe the *Dassara*, an annual carnival held among the Hindus to commemorate the victory of Arjuna over the Kurus. It seems that Govindu, Nagloo's grandfather, entered the lists in the *Paurivaeta* (running goat) games which are organised by the Sudras and stood victor in the contest by successfully killing the "running goat" and the narrative tells us that the exasperated Sudras, resenting that the prize was carried away by a *Mala* murdered him in cold blood. For this reason the author says that to this day the Maidara stock wherever they may be, be they at Ongole, Bezwada or Nagpur, do not celebrate the *Dassara* but confine themselves to their houses in superstitious fear, for on that *Vijai Dasham* (but inauspicious to them) their great progenitor fell. Govindu, we are told, earned a large fortune as a transport contractor in the wars of "the South" or, according to another version accidentally came by untold wealth in the last Maisur War under a heap of onion stuff; and for his bravery in bringing to book a gang of robbers who attacked an Englishman he was granted many acres of land at Narsingole. Polayya, Govindu's son, abandoning his father's profession, became a great wizard, lost all his father's wealth somehow—we are not exactly told how—and was driven to penury; and during the famine of 1833, in an ill-fated hour, plundered along with others a granary, realising as his share Rs. 200, but was eventually caught and had to pay very dearly by losing his life in jail. The tradition is handed down that on the night after Polayya's death the compound of his house was a regular pandemonium of devils, ghosts and disembodied spirits requiring propitiations which were promised but not given by the sorcerer and because of this his books on

sorcery in Telugu, were consigned the next morning to the flames in superstitious terror.

To this unfortunate sorcerer was born Nagloo, the subject of our biography. Why he was named Nagayya is accounted for by the fact that on the *purudu* (washing) day—the seventh after the birth of the child—when the child is christened a snake-tenanted ant-hill—snakes, like cuckoos, do not build their habitats—was discovered in the house and hence he was named after the serpent-god. Strangely enough, we are told that young Nagloo was often seen sporting with the *nag* which did not hurt him in the least. That the snake is looked upon as a god and regularly worshipped in the Deccan—Nagpanchami is his gala day—is patent to every Indian. The snake was therefore not destroyed. The facts recorded regarding the early life of Nagloo are meagre. At a very tender age he became a complete orphan and was brought up by his uncles in the Nizam's Dominions. We are told that he was a little bit of a naturalist, chasing butter-flies and trying to catch sparrows in the primitive fashion by a simple apparatus consisting of a seive, a bamboo peg and a long rope. Not liking the treatment meted out to him by his uncles. he fled to Kamptee in C. P. and there began life as a dog-boy under a military officer. He passed through all the evolutionary stages domestic service under *saheb log* and eventually became a *chowdry* or captain of the malas. He married very early but his marriage proved a failure and the unhappy husband had to send away the bride "with betel and salt in her lap." After a couple of years he again married and this union proved a singularly happy one. Serving under captain Clifton he accompanied General Whitlock's moveable column in the Bundelkhand Campaign of the great Indian mutiny. The author tells us some "unrecorded" details, sandwiched with Nagloo's personal incidents, of the Loot of Banda and the taking of Kirvi by the English. Disgusted with domestic service under civil and military officers which involved not a little touring and continual moving from place to place, Nagloo, at last, settled down at Nagpur. Fortune favoured him. As a commission agent he "made hay" on the purchase of sleepers for Mr. Brereton of the newly opened G. I. P. line. With these emoluments from commissions coupled with savings from income for services rendered in the past and the profits accruing from plying carts between Bombay and Jubbulpore, he established a first class hotel at Nagpur—the first of its kind in C. P.—a want which was long felt by Europeans frequenting C. P. In the opening up of this jung-

ly and backward province, Nagloo, too in a modest measure claims a share in as much as he supplied " the facilities of civilised life " to Government servants, exploiters and merchants in the midst of an inhospitable wilderness. We cannot but admire the pluck of the pariah in launching his enterprise at a time when Messrs. Kellner and Co of the E.I.R. Refreshment Room fame gave it up as a dangerous speculation. Nagloo can therefore be said to be the Pioneer of the hotel enterprise in C. P. His hotel was well patronised by Anglo-Indians (both civil and Military), Parsi merchants, European tourists and sportsmen, and Indo-Anglians as well. To cope with the growing *clientele*, Nagloo had to open another hotel at Nagpur. The Nagpur Club appointed him Manager and Supplier of wines and viands. The crowning honour of his life came when he was appointed *Head Gumasta* to the Desai Setty.

Nagloo next purchased land and housed his hotels in a large one-storeyed buliding which he erected for the purpose. Whether the accomodation was insufficient or whether his vanity was not sufficiently tickled, he pulled down the fabric and built afresh a grand double-storeyed building and christened it the Residency and Railway hotel. He laid out a garden all round embellishing it with a fountain and a small summer-house. Shortly after, he extended his hotel business by opening a branch at Jubbulpore, the scene of the celebrated marble rocks, and had a special tonga service to the rocks for tourists. He established another hotel at Panchmarhi, the Simla of C. P. and, at the same time, ran *dawk* carrying Her Majesty's mails. Nagloo was, about this time, at the height of his fame and wealth.

Very soon a decline set in. Nagloo, as the reader might be aware, had too many irons in the fire and so had to borrow a good deal to keep them all going. Various causes contributed to bring about his ruin and ultimate fall. To begin with, he had to maintain a very large household, the parasitic members of which increasing and multiplying at his expense were slowly draining away his life-blood. The railway line to Jubbulpore *via* Bhussawal cut off passengers as well as his income. The branch hotels under dishonest relative-managers brought in less and less. The witholding of the liquor license at the Jubbulpore branch was another item of loss to be reckoned with. A long defamation case, in which the honour of Nagloo as Head Gumasta was at stake, had to be fought for, which shook his finances to their very foundation. Another big drain was found in the person of Sayulu, Nagloo's Sweetheart, on whom he

doted and spent large sums of money when every pie of it was valuable to him. The crash began by a small claim of Rs. 200 by one Ram Lal, a Marwari of Kamptee and although the money was promptly paid up, the stir and bustle caused in a public Court on the issue of a warrant so shook Nagloo's credit that all the other Sowcars followed suit in quick succession. There was a run of poor Nagloo. Much against his will, he had to auction the pet idol of his life, the Nagpur Hotel with its gardens, for a comparitively small sum of Rs. 10,000, although the late Mr. Tata of Bombay offered him Rs. 70,000 for the same which was, however, declined. Nagloo's other hotels were either attached or closed. Nevertheless he continued as *annadata* to Europeans by opening a small hotel and dawk bungalow, but this was the flicker of a dying flame. Very soon the Dawk Bungalow was transferred by orders of the then Chief Commissioner Sir Antony Macdonnell (Now Lord), to Messrs Kellner & Co. Misfortunes came thick upon Nagloo. No sooner did he shift to a hired house then he was robbed of his scrapings. He was sticken with palsy. Sayulu basely deserted him in the hour of need. His daughter-in-law, the sole "ministering angel" left in the house who, in spite of her indifferent health, nursed him tenderly at last succumbed to puerpiral fever. This was Nagloo's death-blow. He died within a week and his remains lie in the Nagnadi Cemetry near the serpentine river after which Nagpur takes its name.

Nagloo is indeed a very interesting personality and the interest is heightened by the fact that he appears in his "original" Dravidian colours unsullied by *padre* purification. The ordinary fate of the malas, unless they come within the missionary fold is to live and die, unseen, unknown and unlamented with not a stone to tell where they lie. But Nagloo is a singular exception. He has been fortunate enough to secure his son as his biographer. Mr. Venkataswamy has immortalised his father by his faithful narrative which is told without any reserve—a feature which among other distractions of the book (it is ill-printed and written in a slipshod manner) readily commends itself to the reader. Everything about Nagloo, how he escaped being recorded in *All the Year Round* by Colonel Leigh Hunt, the son of the poet and essayist, for no other reason than the loss of the original manuscript notes by the *saheb*; how his features attracted Mr. Manghan of the Mohpani Collieries who put his features on canvas; how he studied the comforts of his guests and won their encomiums; how he was deeply distressed

when he heard that clerk Raju of the Jubbulpore branch hotel committed suicide on his being hauled up for defalcation of hotel moneys and how with innate goodness of heart he exclaimed "I wish the fellow had confessed it and I would have forgiven him"; how he sometimes played the role of Krishna among mala *gopikas*; how he wept like a child when his patron, Captain Morris, died and continued weeping far into the night; how he believed he saw god in human form on his way from Bombay; how he worshipped the non-Aryan gods and even dedicated a temple to *Ammavaru* (godess of small-pox) in Goddagudam, a suburb of Nagpur, how, for his legal acumen in settling the knotty *panchayat* disputes, he was recommended by Mr. Munton for an honorary magistracy which he refused with characteristic bashfulness; how he passed into song and was immortalised in *moharram* buffoonery; how, when he was ill, his eldest daughter Polummah, in order to avert the "evil eye" built a miniature hut-like bamboo charm into which she put chillies and salt after waiving them over the invalid and set fire to the whole and then made him cross it three times; his charitable and humane instincts, how he helped famine-stricken people, how his Sunday charity lasted for hours, how like a veritable *Jain* he put sugar into ant-hills and how at one time he gave away a horse to a *Sadhu*; how in his declining years, when hard pressed by adversity, he kicked his first wife—he, too, like a Mohamedan had harem of four wives—who, to ward off the pain in her body and get sleep, indulged in a drink of two annas a day; his Code of Laws for his caste-people which, in the opinion of the author, might have done credit to a Macaulay; his dread of devils and taste for riddles; his daily peg of brandy with soda water; his tobacco-chewing and the consequent spitting of saliva on the walls of his drawing room with the accompanying detestable sound, "pooch, pooch;" his mohamedan friends, Mr. Shiekh Ismail and Dr. Mohamed Oosman; his dog *Dash*, his cat *Posi*, his *lal munias* (wax-bills)—all these and a crowd of other incidents are told with a faithfulness that is astonishing, a piquancy that is stimulating and a candour that is fascinating. Adieu to the memory of Nagloo!

A COMMONSENSE VIEW OF NIRVANA.

By A Student of Philosophy.

IN an obvious sense it is not in the power of philosophy to expound, or of the intellect to comprehend, what Nirvana actually is. It can be learnt only by the fact, only by him who has attained Nirvana. Still, philosophy and literature have concerned themselves with this doctrine. In fact, it is a *vexata quæstio* of philosophy. The word, if not the idea, was generally unknown in Europe till Schopenhauer made it familiar to western thinkers. Since then it has passed into the current coin of European literature. With the exception of a few thinkers and philosophers, most western people understand by the term the total annihilation of the thinking principle—a doctrine of quietism and apathy, which is supposed to be at the root of the decay of Eastern civilisations. Thus even in a comparatively recent book* by an eminent Professor of philosophy we find the following sentence:

> It is only in emancipation from the thraldom of sense and habit, in ceasing from the thoughts, feelings, desires, that bind us to the finite, in the utter abnegation of ourselves and the world, that we rise into union with the Divine. Only in that *emptiness* is the Divine fullness hidden. It is in some such movement of thought that we discern the explanation of that which is at first sight so inexplicable in Buddhism—its conception of God and its morality of negation and renunciation—*that heaven of nothingness*—in which the Buddhist finds the highest destiny and blessedness of man.†

The conception of total annihilation after death is not a new idea in Western poetry and philosophy. Atheists, agnostics, and positivists practically agree in denying the existence and immortality of the soul. Tennyson speaks of the "sacred everlasting calm" of the Epicurean gods, where "no sound of human sorrow mounts." Lucretius, the poet philosopher of the Epicurean creed, considered the sleep of annihilation to be the happiest end of man. Shakespeare's Hamlet thought that

To die, —to sleep,—
No more;—and by a sleep, to say we end
The heartache, and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to,—'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished.

Swinburne, in his beautiful poem, *The Garden of Proserpine*, thus forecasts the future after death :—

Then star nor sun shall waken,
Nor any change of light :
Nor sound of waters shaken,
Nor any sound or sight :

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* *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, by Dr. John Caird, Glasgow, 1901.
† The italics are ours.—Writer.

Nor wintry leaves nor vernal,
Nor days nor things diurnal;
Only the sleep eternal
In an eternal night.*

It is for saints and philosophers to say whether the Buddhist idea of निर्वाण and the Hindu idea of मुक्ति, निःश्रेयस, अपवर्ग, कैवल्य, मोक्ष, अमृत, correspond to this conception of total annihilation. For our present purpose we will ignore the more or less technical distinctions between the above-mentioned terms of Buddhistic and Hindu philosophy, and taking them, in a general sense, to convey the same meaning, try to understand whether that meaning is something which can be grasped by the ordinary cultivated intelligence, and followed out in practical life as a wise rule of conduct.

Western literature is not wanting in hints and suggestions which will help us to understand what is meant by Nirvana. Take, for instance, the following, from Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, which is, by the way, one of the hundred best books recommended by the late Lord Acton:

The proper and natural effect, and in the absence of all disturbing or intercepting forces, the certain and sensible accompaniment of peace or reconcilement with God, is our own inward peace, a calm and quiet temper of mind;

or the following from *The Friend*:—

The contemplation of reason, namely, that intuition of things which arises when we possess ourselves as one with the whole .... [by this] we know that existence is its own predicate, self-affirmation, the one attribute in which all others are contained, not as parts, but as manifestations. It is an eternal and infinite self-rejoicing, self-loving, with a joy unfathomable, with a love all-comprehensive. It is absolute.........

Emerson gives us repeated glimpses of the state of blessedness, of passionless repose and tranquility, which pervades the soul which is freed from the limitations of the finite, and is in tune with the Infinite.

We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles. Meantime within man is the soul of the whole; the wise silence; the universal beauty, to which every part and particle is equally related; the eternal One. And this deep power in which we exist, and whose beautitude is inaccessible to us, is not only self-sufficing and perfect in every hour, but the act of seeing and the thing seen, the seer and the spectacle, the subject and the object, are one. (The Oversoul.)

Again:

The day of days, the great day of the feast of life, is that in which the inward eye opens to the unity in things, to the omnipresence of law..... .. This beautitude dips from on high down on us, and we see ..This insight throws us on the party and interest of the Universe, against all and sundry; against ourselves, as much as others. (Fate).

* Cf. ' न स्वर्गो नापवर्गो वा नैवात्मा पारलौकिकः—चार्वाकवचनम् ।

The atheistic philosophers of the west have their counterpart in Charvaka in Indian philosophy. The authors of the celebrated six systems are a class apart. All of them posit a human soul, though, they may not admit a personal God and the immortality of the soul is a fundamental doctrine of their creeds.

Is not the eternal bliss of Nirvana very much the same thing as that which was spoken of by Cardinal Newman in his *Sermons?*

He (Christ) is in the very abyss of peace, where there is no voice of tumult or distress, but a deep stillness—stillness, the greatest and most awful of all goods which we can fancy,—the most perfect of joys, the utter, profound, ineffable tranquility of his divine essence. He has entered into his rest.

The Old Testament alludes to "the peace which passeth understanding," and which "cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof." The Genevese professor, Amiel, had moments of illumination when the veil was lifted for him and he could see through the form into the soul of things. Here is a passage from his *Journal Intime*:

A sense of rest, of deep quiet even silence within and without. A quietly burning fire. A sense of comfort. The portrait of my mother seems to smile upon me. I am not dazed or stupid, but only happy in this peaceful morning. Whatever may be the charm of emotion, I do not know whether it equals the sweetness of those hours of silent meditation, in which we have a glimpse and foretaste of the contemplative joys of Paradise. Desire and fear, sadness and care, are done away. Existence is reduced to the simplest form, the most ethereal mode of being, namely, to pure self-consciousness. It is a state of harmony, without tension and without disturbance, the dominical state of the soul, perhaps the state which awaits it beyond the grave. It is happiness as the Orientals understand it, the happiness of the anchorite, who neither struggles nor wishes any more, but simply adores and enjoys. It is difficult to find words in which to express this moral situation, for our languages can only render the particular and localised vibrations of life; they are incapable of expressing this motionless concentration, this divine quietude, this state of the resting ocean, which reflects the sky and is master of its own profundities.* Things are then reabsorbed into their principles; memories are swallowed up in memory; the soul is only soul, and is no longer conscious of itself in its individuality and separateness. It is something which feels the universal life, a sensible atom of the Divine, of God. It no longer appropriates anything to itself, it is conscious of no void. Only the Yogis and Sufis perhaps have known in its profundity this humble yet voluptuous state, which combines the joys of being and of non-being, which is neither reflection nor will, which is above both the moral existence and the intellectual existence, which is the return to unity, to the pleroma, the vision of Plotinus and of Proclus,—Nirvana in its most attractive form. It is clear that the western nations in general, and especially the Americans, know very little of this state of feeling. For them life is devouring and incessant activity. They are eager for gold, for power, for dominion; their aim is to crush men and to enslave nature. They have an obstinate interest in means, and have not a thought for the end.

Long as the quotation is, we shall make yet another extract, this time from the writings of a modern German author of some repute, Dr. Max Nordau. He says:—

The first requisites of happiness are inward unison, that is, the absence of discord and quarrelling, peace and tranquility in the heart and mind. There is a profound human significance in the fact that the Indians conceived of happiness in the form

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* How closely does this resemble the idea contained in the following verse of the *Mandukopanished*:—

यथा नद्यः स्यन्द्मानाः समुद्रे—ऽस्तं गच्छान्ति नाम रुपे विहाय।
तथा विद्वान्नाम रुपाद् विमुक्तः, परात्परं पुरुष मुपैति दिव्यम्॥

[illegible] Nirvana is absolute rest. It is the [illegible] of the mind which occurs when it has no longer a desire or a longing; when it is no longer [illegible] of any thing foreign or outside of its own self which has power to attract or repel it, and thus induces the painful effort of an approaching or receding movement. It is a state of blissfulness of which civilised man, carried madly around in his eternal whirlpool of thought, can form no longer any conception.

He proceeds to say that this is an ideal, which though unattainable in its perfection, is still worth striving for. The peace which is associated with Nirvana is equally above joy and sorrow, but they may be made to minister to "the soul's marmoreal calmness" if welcomed in the proper spirit:

Grief should be
Like joy, majestic, equable, sedate;
Confirming, cleansing, raising, making free;
Strong to consume small troubles; to commend
Great thoughts, grave thoughts, thoughts lasting to the End.*

When man has subdued his senses and retired within himself, he feels, with Wordsworth,

A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.

Nirvana is not quietism, but what the same poet felicitously describes as

That blessed mood
In which the burden of mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened; that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until the breath of this corporeal frame,
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a visible soul;
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

From western literature we turn to Western philosophy, and there too we shall find the same idea occurring again and again in various garbs. What was the conception of supreme good in the mind of Socrates, who brought philosophy down from heaven to the Earth? It will be found in his beautiful prayer at the end of the *Phædrus*:

Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and the inward man be at one.

Plato held that our relation to God is a relation of likeness arising from identity of essence. It is a relation of communion, of reflective self-

* Aubrey de Vere.

[illegible]
consciousness, of calm contemplation. The divine is manifested to us by the emergence and self-assertion, from beneath the overwhelming flood of transient phenomena, of a godlike and eternal element [the Atman of Hindu philosophy] which may be latent in us but not lost. Thus by the eternal contemplation of truth, of Ideas, we attain to salvation. This is the sum and substance of Plato's Dialectics. With Aristotle, intellect or contemplation was the chief thing, and he held it to be the highest aim of man to achieve the contemplative disposition. That he regarded as the characteristic of the philosopher; and he thought that the highest aim for a man was to be a philosopher. The Deity he conceived solely from the standpoint of contemplation, not defining him as an ethical being, but as self-reflective, as "thinking upon thought." What is the kernel of the much-abused Epicurean doctrine? It is that happiness is the end and aim of man, and that it consists in Temperance, that is, the control of the passions and appetites, the sacrifice of immediate enjoyment for the sake of a more lasting pleasure. It is clear that pleasure thus understood cannot be the intense sensual emotion commonly understood by the term, but becomes a reasoned felicity not far removed from the joy of quiet meditation. But of all the ancients, the doctrine of the Stoics bore the greatest resemblance to the Indian ideal of Supreme Bliss. The last watchword given by Emperor Antoninus, when dying, to the officer of the watch was "Acquanimitas." According to the Stoic system, true freedom consists in emancipation from the thraldom of irrational desires, in the reduction of our wants to the smallest possible number, and in the subjection of the will to the supremacy of reason. Therein lies the secret of happiness. "Seek not that the things which happen should happen as you wish, but wish the things which happen to be as they are, and you will have an even flow of life," said Epictetus. Man is the master of his own fate. Retire within yourself, and the buffets of fortune will not affect you. A catalogue of some characteristic Stoic doctrines reads like a passage from the *Geeta*, the Indian 'Song of Songs.' The wise man, being self-sufficient, alone is free and alone is a king. He is rich in the midst of poverty, and happy though in physical torment. He never yields to anger, or resentment, or envy, or fear, or grief, or lust or even to joy. The ideal sage has no desire for fame, has no anxiety for the future, is the equal of Zeus himself. He is indifferent to the good or evil that may befall him, he leads a life of perfect detachment. True felicity is only in the mind. "The mind free from passions is a citadel; man has no stronger fortress to which he can fly for refuge and remain impregnable" is one of many similar thoughts to be found in the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius. *Apatheia*, passionlessness, is the ideal of the wise man. It is the state of perfection in which desire, though it may still be felt, is powerless to move the will, being reduced to the sole function of executing the commands of

pure reason. Huxley saw very little difference between this and Nirvana. The Stoic doctrine of living according to nature, rightly interpreted, means living according to pure reason. It is the same as the Kantian injunction 'to act on a maxim which thou canst will to be law universal.' Walter Pater in his *Marius the Epicurean* says somewhere that in Marcus Aurelius stoicism reached its high water mark of golden mediocrity. The Stoic idea is difficult to grasp, specially by men of the emotional type, but it is noteworthy that men who can no longer find satisfaction in the consolations of Christianity who, like Mathew Arnold, are of opinion that

> *Alone, selfpoised,* henceforward man
> Must labour ! Must resign
> His all too human creeds, and scan
> Simply the way divine

consider Stoicism to be the only creed fit for intellects virile enough to bear the strain of close and deep thinking. To such persons, the central truth will always be

> Resolve to be thyself ; and know that he
> Who finds himself, loses his misery.*

Most western writers dismiss Neo-Platonism with thinly veiled contempt. They regard it as mystic oriental pantheism and nothing more. But Lecky says that "as a moral system, it carried, indeed, the purification of the feelings and imagination to a higher pitch of perfection than any preceding school." Plotinus, Porphyry and Proclus are the leading figures of this school of Alexandrian thought. Man is identical with the divine, but the divinity is latent in his soul, dulled, dimmed and crushed by the tyranny of the passions. To bring god that is in us in conformity with the god that is in the universe, is the aim of life. Philosophy must be pursued by pure and unmingled reason and with senses subdued ; for the body disturbs the mind, so that it cannot follow wisdom and truth. But this reason is not reasoning, it is something transcendental and intiative, and manifests itself only after a long course of discipline. Our soul is a dark chamber, darkened by contact with the flesh, but in it there exists a living divine element ; the eye of reason, by long and steady discipline, can learn to decipher its character; the will, aided by a suitable course of discipline, can evoke this divine element, and cause it to blend with the universal spirit from which it sprang. The faculty by which the mind divests itself of its personality is Ecstacy.† In this ecstacy the soul becomes loosened from its material prison, separated from individual consciousness, and becomes absorbed in the Infinite Intelligence from which it emanated. In this ecstacy it contemplates real existence ; it identifies itself with that which it contemplates. This being the gist of the Neo-Platonic doctrine, it is evident

* Matthew Arnold : 'Self Dependence'

† This is the same as the Indian doctrine of समाधि. cf. समाधिः समतावस्था जीवात्मा परमात्मनोः, दत्तात्रेय संहिता

that it bears a considerable resemblance to the Vedantic doctrine of *Moksha* मोक्ष and the Buddhistic doctrine of *Nirvana* निर्वाण in the commonly understood sense of the bliss of absorption with the Infinite.

We shall now refer shortly to two among the modern philosophers of the west. Of Spinoza, the God-intoxicated Jew, it is well known that his life was a conscientious practice of his philosophy, and that of all modern philosophers, he decidedly takes the first rank, if purity and saintliness of character be taken as the test. And yet what was his highest virtue, and what was his love of God? They had no tinge of emotionalism in them. He conceived of the world as comprised in and following from the necessity of the divine nature; the highest virtue according to him was Fortitude, firmness and steadfastness of character, to act from the inward essence of the mind alone, and stand free from the way of the passive affections, from the blind energy of the passions. To understand ourselves, to become master, by insight, of the play of passions in ourselves, is to discover the truth, that is the true nature of God. Self-knowledge, therefore, is the love of God; we know God in knowing ourselves, and see ourselves to be in God. This consciousness of ourselves as a related part of the whole truth of nature fills us with a serene joy, and this is the *Amor Intellectualis Dei*, the cold, passionless, intellectual love of god, which gave Spinoza his rule of life. The last philosopher to whom we shall refer is Schopenhauer. He has been much misunderstood and misrepresented, but Indians will find a striking similarity between his line of thought and the characteristic philosophical thought of India. Indeed, he never concealed his debt to the *Upanishads* and to *Buddhism*. Life is essentially suffering, being a constant self-assertion of the will to live, and the misery of life reaches its maximum in man, the most advanced manifestation of Will. The abnegation of Will, and of the illusory pleasures of life, is the only remedy of the evil. The happiness of renunciation is the only happiness possible to man. The Will mainfests itself through everything and is identical in all its manifestations, and the recognition of this identity of our nature with that of others is the beginning of all true morality. Thus to abjure desire and to do good to man and beast alike, is the sum and substance of his practical philosophy. Happiness in the Schopenhauerean sense will therefore be seen to be essentially the same as the bliss of Nirvana,—no positive joy, but the passionless repose of the truly wise.

Before closing this very brief review of some systems of European thought, modern and ancient, we shall again refer to Dr. John Caird, whose characterisation of Nirvana as emptiness and nothingness was quoted at the beginning of this paper. In the chapter on Moral Life in his *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, he says that the moral life is not a passionless life, and that the only life adequate to our ideal is one in which we are carried beyond the sphere of morality into that

of religion. Here, "the division between the spirit and its object has vanished, and the ideal has become real, the finite has reached its goal and become suffused with the presence and life of the infinite."

For religion is the surrender of the finite will to the Infinite, the abnegation of all desire, inclination and volition that pertain to me as this private individual self, the giving up of every aim or activity that points only to my exclusive pleasure or interest, the absolute identification of my will with the will of God.........It is the elevation of the spirit into a region where hope passes into certitude, struggle into conquest interminable effort and endeavour into "peace and rest."

Henceforth, "it is not a finite but an infinite life which the spirit lives, "every pulse-beat of its life is the expression and realistion of the life of God," "it has no longer any life save that of absolute oneness with its divine ideal," it "can realise and enjoy all that is involved in the consciousness of our oneness with God," and "it partakes of the satisfaction and blessedness of the divine life." After this, Dr. Caird may sneer at Indian pantheism and the doctrine of emptiness, but a rational follower of his exposition of religion will find little difference between the Indian theory of Nirvana and that which is set up by him as the goal of life.

We now come to the third and last division of our paper, the consideration of the peculiarly Indian tenets of *Nirvana* and *Mukti*. The philosophical basis of these doctrines may be tersely summarised in the following words of St. Paul—'the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain.' "The three great religions of Mankind" says Paul Deussen, "Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Christianity, and not less the philosophy of Schopenhauer, which represents Christianity in its purest form, agree in teaching that the highest aim of our endeavour is deliverance from the present existence." According to the Vedanta, bondage consists in thinking oneself to be different from God, as having a self (आत्मन्) which is different from the supreme self (ब्रह्मन्) and मुक्ति means freedom from this bondage. In the Sankhya system, bondage consists in identifiying the self (पुरुषः) with the phenomenal world of matter, प्रकृति, and liberation, कैवल्य consists in the knowledge of the aloofness of Purusha. But emancipation is not merely a matter of ignorance and knowledge in their purely intellectual aspects. One who does not identify himself with the Universal Self, but with this or that finite object, gross or fine, must necessarily be subject to desires connected with that object. He must wish for things that may satisfy the self he conceives. These things, again, in consequence of their intrinsic finitude and transitoriness, must be often unattainable, and thus cause disappointment or even when obtainable, fail to give him full and lasting satisfaction. The state of bondage, therefore, is one not of mere ignorance, but also of suffering, suffering caused by various passions and desires,—desires for finite objects—and liberation, मोक्ष, is freedom from the suffering caused by

such desires. This is the Vedantic view. According to Kapila, all this suffering is not, as we imagine, our suffering. Like the whole evolution of Prakriti, this suffering also belongs to Prakriti and not to ourselves, not to the Purushas. The Purusha after attaining कैवल्य remains undisturbed, independent, free, and blessed, unchanged in this changing संसार—this cycle of births and rebirths. As to the Buddhistic idea of Nirvana, Max Miller says :—

In the early Buddhistic writings, Nirvana does not yet mean a complete blowing out of the individual soul, but rather the blowing out and subsiding of all human passions, and the peace and quietness which result from it.

Thus :

If we look in the Dhammapada at every passage where Nirvana is mentioned, there is not one which would require that its meaning should be annihilation, while most, if not all, would become unintelligible if we assigned to the word that signification.

In the same sense Professor Rhys David defines Nirvana as "a sinless calm state of mind" which "if translated at all, may best, perhaps, be rendered by 'holiness'—holiness that is, in the Buddhistic sense, perfect peace, goodness and wisdom."

In the same sense, again, Sir Edwin Arnold speaks of Nirvana in his *Light of Asia:*

Blessed Nirvana—sinless, stirless rest,
That change which never changes.

Again,

If any teach Nirvana is to cease,
Say unto such they lie.

Dr. Paul Dahlke, an acute and close thinker, however, says in his *Buddhist Essays*, that the Vedantic goal of Mukti, union of the self with Brahman, could not satisfy the vigorous logic of Buddhism. For desire, even when directed towards the highest, worked sorrow, and the desire for union with the Absolute is not free from that inexorable law. But his exposition of the Buddhistic doctrine is not very different from those of MaxMuller and Rhys David. Nirvana is not a positive conception. It is freedom from sorrow which I seek, and this condition of freedom from sorrow is Nirvana. Nirvana is present as darkness is present when light is extinguished. The destruction of sorrow is not a real destruction, it is nothing but sorrow looked at from a different point of view, nothing but the destruction of an illusion that has its basis in me and arises with my arising. That man has attained to Nirvana who through the knowledge of the Not-I has completely loosed himself from all desires. Where there is no desire there is no attachment, there is no parting, no sorrow; where there is no sorrow, there is no transciency, no change. Nirvana is therefore the condition of changeless, birthless, eternal rest and peace. It may be here mentioned that the Buddhist doctrine of Sunya is not altogether nothing.*

* Max Muller's Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy, (Collected Works, Vol. XIX, 1903), p. 367.

The word Nirvana occurs in the Vedanta, and the idea is one which, as Max Muller says, was in the air in India, and was not peculiar to Buddhism. Indeed, Dr. Dahlmann thinks that it was borrowed by the Buddhists from either the Sankhya or the Vedanta philosophy. That the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana is, to a large extent, analogous to the Vedantic and the Sankhya doctrines of supreme bliss, will appear from the following four ध्यान or meditations which are described as the four stages to the goal of Nirvana.

He has now got rid of the five fetters; he has learnt to recognise the dross of passion; dead to desires, escaped from evil, he lives in thoughtful recollectedness, in the peace-born sacred security of the first trance. After the consummation of thoughtfulness and recollectedness, the monk attains inward stillness, unity of mind, free from sensation and thought, in the blessed serenity borne of self-absorption—the consecration of the second trance. In peace serene dwells the monk, evenminded, full of insight, with consciousness clear; and experiences that happiness in the body, of which the saintly say: "He of evenminded insight lives happily." And so he wins to the third trance. After the rejection of joy and sorrow, after the annihilation of personal pleasures and pains, the monk reaches the consecration of the sorrowless, joyless, even-minded, charged with insight, perfectly pure, fourth trance.

"To have religion in any true sense, is to have peace," says Frederic Harrison, the apostle of the Religion of Humanity. Thomas-a-Kempis only echoes the Vedantic sentiment when he says—"Forego desire, and thou shalt find peace." According to Spinoza, God has only two attributes—Extension and Thought—the सत् and चित् of the Vedanta. The Vedanta adds a third—आनन्दम्—which means perfect bliss. This bliss, this knowledge of and oneness with, the highest Brahman, is, to the truly enlightened, the same thing as शान्ति, tranquility, perfect rest, and self-satisfaction. For God and I are not really different—तत्त्वमसि that thou art. It is the want of this knowledge which is at the root of all our misery. Hence Nirvana is contrasted with suffering, as in the following passage—अनास्थैवहि निर्वाणं, दुःखमास्था .परिग्रहः (योगवासिष्ठ).—Paul Deussen, in his *Philosophy of the Upainshads*, thus summarises the characteristics of one who has gained release (जीवन्मुक्तः). He is अकामायमान; every wish, craving, desire, all hope and fear have for him been destroyed. He is beyond even the possibility of pain. Henceforth his works become nothingness, cease, that is, to produce any effect. Future works do not cling to him—क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्म्माणि, for him evil doing is entirely excluded by his freedom from all desire. And lastly, all doubts have been solved for him—छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः Knowing Brahman, he becomes Brahman—ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मैव भवति. It is no wonder that Paul Deussen considers the Vedanta to be "the strongest support of pure morality and the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death;" Schopenhauer said that it was the solace of his life and would be the solace of his death; and Max Muller regarded it as the best preparation for a happy death or enthanasia.

The Upanishads characterise Brahman as 'शान्त' (श्वेताश्वतर, vi—19), शान्तं शिवमद्वैतं (माण्डूक्य). They who know the Brahman alone enjoy everlasting joy and everlasting peace, not others :—

एको वशी सर्व्वभूतान्तरात्मा—एकं रूपं बहुधायः करोति ।
तमात्मस्थं येऽनुपश्यन्ति धीरा—स्तेषां सुखं शाश्वतं नेतरेषां ॥
नित्योऽनित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानाम्—एको बहूनां यो विदधाति कामान् ।
तमात्मस्थं येऽनुपश्यन्ति धीरा—स्तेषां शान्तिः शाश्वती नेतरेषाम् ॥
कठोपनिषद् , २।२।१२-१३

In the Bhagavadgeeta, which is the epitome and essence of the Upanishads, this eternal and absolute peace—शश्वच्छान्तिः (ix—31) and पराशान्तिः (xviii—62)—is described as the highest goal of life. It is higher than unselfish activity (xii—12), without it none can be really happy—अशान्तस्य कुतः सुखं (ii—66) This शान्ति is निर्व्वाणपरमा (vi—15),—ends in Nirvana. He in whom the desires are merged as the river is merged in the ocean, attains this blessedness, not he who is still the slave of his desires (ii,—70, 71). He who attains शान्ति is the happiest of yogis (vi—27; also ix—31 xviii—62, iv—39). In fact yoga is nothing but this state of mental equilibrium—समत्वं योग उच्यते (ii—48). The state of mind of the yogi is comparable to the steady flame of a lamp (vi—19) and the supreme bliss (सुखमत्यन्तिकं) of such a man cannot be grasped by the senses, but can only be comprehended by the illumination of the intellect (vi—21). Elsewhere this peace is called प्रसाद, as in ii—64, and those who are in this condition are called प्रशान्तात्मनः (vi—14) and प्रशान्तमनसः (vi—27.) *Nirvana* is also called ब्रह्मनिर्व्वाण in the Geeta, as in ii—72, v—24, 25. The *Rishis*, engaged in doing good to all created beings, their sins washed away, their minds within control, their doubts solved, attain ब्रह्मनिर्व्वाण (v—25.).

The words असक्तः, निर्द्वन्द्व इन्द्रारम्भ : निराशी, निर्ममता :, and others of the same import, occur as a perpetual refrain in the Geeta. They all indicate the same thing, a man without love or hate, praise or blame, fear or anger, above joy or sorrow—for joy is a positive and sorrow a negative विकार of the body—without any desires, leading a life of perfect detachment. Such a man is without attributes (xiv—24 25,), and is beloved of the gods (xii—14 to 19). When after a rigid course of self-discipline, प्रज्ञालोक, the illumination of wisdom, bursts forth, when the dense material sheath—अन्नमय कोष—by gradual refinement and uplift, reaches the stage of wisdom,—विज्ञानमय कोष man is fit to pass over to the last and final stage—आनन्दमय कोष the stage of bliss, before his final absorption with the Infinite. The Sanskrit religious poets have tried to describe the bliss of union with the Absolute—ब्रह्मानन्द. Earthly pleasures, and the more refined pleasures of heaven, are not even a sixteenth part of this supreme bliss.

यच्च काम सुखं लोके, यच्च दिव्यं महत् सुखं ।
तृष्णाक्षय सुख स्यैते नार्हतः षोडशी कलां ॥
महाभारत, मोक्ष धर्म्म ।

The bliss which is enjoyed by such persons cannot be described in words :

आत्मविश्रान्तितृप्तेन निराशेन गतार्त्तिना ।
अन्तर्यदनुभूयेत तत् कथं कस्य कथ्यते ॥
अष्टावक्र संहिता ।

Wherever such a man turns his eyes, he finds nothing but bliss :

अकिञ्चनस्य दान्तस्य शान्तस्य समचेतसः ।
मयासन्तुष्टमनसः सर्व्वाः सुखमया दिशः ॥
भागवत ।

And with the Vedic poets, he pours forth blessings all around, on the winds, the rivers, the herbs and trees, on day and night, on the sky, the sun, and the cattle, so that the whole universe is turned to sweetness :

मधु वाता ऋतायते । मधु क्षरन्तु सिन्धवः । माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधिः ।
मधु नक्तमुतोषसोः । मधुमत्पार्थिवं रजः । मधुद्यौरस्तु नः पिता । मधुमान्नो वनस्पतिः ॥
मधुमानस्तु सूर्य्यः । माध्वीर्गावो भवन्तु नः । ओं मधु ओं मधु ओं मधु !

The ancient Indian philosophies, giving as they do the supreme place to knowledge, leave very little scope for the play of the emotions. For the satisfaction of the emotional needs of man, other systems were therefore necessary, and they were supplied in popular form in the later Puranas. But the central idea of the doctrine of *Nirvana* has never been lost sight of amidst the multiplicity of religious doctrines. It is that for man salvation lies within himself, and the only way to attain it is by practising perfect detachment in the midst of our worldly activities, which should not be shunned or abjured, but ennobled by keeping the ideal of निष्काम कर्म—selfless activity—always in view. So doing, man will reach the only happiness which is true or lasting, which is above both joy and sorrow, namely, the happiness of perfect peace. How thoroughly the doctrine has interpenetrated the everyday life of the people will appear from the common proverbs of the country, which crystallise the experience and wisdom of the ages. One such proverb in the writer's mother tongue, Bengali, is यत हासि तत कान्ना (as much laughter, so much weeping.) It reveals the truth that pleasure and pain are both fleeting and momentary, and the one is related to the other as action is related to reaction. Pleasure and pain being both ephemeral, what should be our rule of conduct? There is another Bengali proverb which furnishes the answer, सुखेर चेये सोयास्ति भाल (peace is better than happiness.) Peace, therefore, should be the aim of life, and this is what is meant by Nirvana, as we have tried to show; not the peace of browsing cattle, nor of indolence and inaction, nor yet of death, but peace which is the outcome of self-sacrificing activity, of activity guided by reasoned self-discipline.

THE

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on " The Critical Faculty.* "

THE FUTURE OF FICTION.

By Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose.

SOMETIME before his death Jules Verne, the brilliant story-teller, whose name is dear to so many youths, in an interview with a *Daily Mail* representative said that the conviction had grown upon him that the novel was doomed to disappear, the newspaper taking its place.

"I do not think," he said, "there will be any novels or romances, at all events in volume form, in fifty or a hundred years from now. * * * They will be supplanted altogether by the daily newspaper, which has already now taken such a grip of the lives of the progressive nations. They (the romance, the novel, the descriptive story, the story historic and the story psychological) will all disappear. They are not necessary, and even now their merit and their interest are fast declining. As historic records the world will file its newspapers. Newspaper-writers have learned to colour everyday events so well that to read them will give posterity a truer picture than the historic or descriptive novel could do, and so far the novel psychological will soon cease to to be, and will die of inanition in your own life-time."

To support his opinion the veteran story-teller added:

I am second to no living man in my admiration of the greatest psychologist the world has ever known—Guy de Maupassant—and he, like all true geniuses, foresaw the trend of human ideas and needs, and wrote his stories in the smallest possible compass. Each one of De Maupassant's soul studies is a concentrated lozenge of psychology. The De Maupassant who will delight the world in years to come will do so in newspapers of the day, and not in volumes, and they will crystallise the psychology of the world in which

they live, by 'writing up' the day-to-day events. The real psychology of life is in its news, and more truth can be gathered from the Police Court story, the railway accident, from the everyday doings of the crowd, and from the battles of the future, than can be obtained if an attempt is made to clothe the psychological moral in a garb of fiction.

Unfortunately the veteran story-teller lost sight of the line of demarcation between the novel and the short story. He forgot that the two are distinct, and must ever remain so. "The twain", like Kipling's East and West, "never shall meet."

A short story may be many things, but it can never be "a novel in a nutshell."

The novel must have a good, attractive and well-knit plot. But a plot is no essential part of a short story, though in works like Conan Doyle's or Rudyard Kipling's it may be a delightful part. • The art of the novelist is to present before us the stage with its actors playing their parts on it. The art of the short story writer is to bring into prominence a single feature—a single incident keeping the rest in studied neglect. The short story is like the light from the bull's-eye lantern—which falls on a single spot and illumines it and it alone—keeping the surrounding space in utter darkness. The incident or accident which is fit to be the backbone of the short story may often be too insignificant for the novel which should present life with its tempests of rage and hatred, gloom of sorrow and disappointment, and sunshine of joy and exultation. The short story is as distinct from the novel as the sonnet is from the epic.

The short story must be distinctly original and novel, concise, condensed,—yet suggestive. It may be delightfully extravagant or a miracle of understatement. It is a foe to prolixity of any kind and admits no fine writing nor affectation of style. For, it must go directly to the point, pregnant brevity being essential to the short story. Thus are the novel and the short story distinct, and that is one of the reasons why so few novelists are successful writers of short stories.

But to go back to the point. In literature every work which retains a permanent hold over succeeding generations of readers, and is by common consent enshrined among the precious possessions of a national literature has been nourished upon the spontaneous feelings and aspirations of its own age, and speaks without affectation, though with more than common force and finish the common speech of its own time. In fiction—the work which deals with types which "err from honest nature's rule" can never hope to get anything more than a purely ephemeral recognition. For, as fine lines and metaphors do not in themselves make fine poetry any more than carved stones make architecture, so merely fine descriptions or fine situations do not ensure the success of a novel. The novelist must base his claims on dealing—and dealing successfully with human nature.

The novel is essentially a work of art, and as long as the art taste—call it instinct if you like—of man exists there is no chance of the novel disappearing.

Macaulay in the heyday of his popularity prophesied the decline of poetry. "As civilisation advances," said Macaulay, "poetry almost necessarily declines."

"Poetry" he added, "produces an illusion on the eye of the mind, as a magic lantern produces an illusion on the eye of the body. And, as the magic lantern acts best in a dark room, poetry effects its purpose most completely in a dark age. As the light of knowledge breaks in upon its exhibitions, as the outline of certainty becomes more and more definite, and the shades of probability more and more distant, the hues and lineaments of the phantoms which the poet calls up grow fainter and fainter.*

But time has proved him a false prophet. And a nation whose one ambition it is to monopolise the markets of the world, has in an age of steam and electricity,

> When Science reaches forth her arms
> To feel from world to world, and charms
> Her secret from the latest moon.

produced poets like Tennyson, Wordsworth, and Browning—poets "whose thoughts enrich the blood of the world." One of them at least has made new truths of science adorn his

> Jewels five-words-long
> That on the stretch'd forefinger of all Time
> Sparkle for ever.

Tennyson has made the truths of science lend their lustre to the lustre of poetry, and has thereby opened a new domain for the muse. Who does not remember lines like

> Break, thou deep vase of chilling tears
> That grief hath shaken into frost.

where in truths of science lend a novel charm to poetry?

The nineteenth century produced a full, if not a bumper crop of poets. Let us hope the twentieth also will produce many who will do with superlative charm and skill a thing which mankind has agreed to include among the noblest and most elevated occupations of the human intelligence. And we need not apprehend the decline and death of poetry in the near or the distant future.

The strongest plea for the newspaper seems to be that in the future people will get no time to go through novels. Far from it. Science strives to minimise time and labour. Its aim is to produce the maximum of work by the minimum of labour and during the shortest possible times. We have in our own days seen how individual hand-work has been supplanted

* Essay on Milton.

by wholesale manufacture—how the mighty forces of steam and electricity have taken the place of thousands of humun hands—and how machinery has been working wonders in the twinkling of an eye.

All these show how leisure has been, instead of decreasing, really increasing. And we can safely hope that the future generations will command ampler leisure to devote to novels and works of art than we can.

The novel is essentially a work of art. And that is why books which deal with problems of present-day interest can never hope to retain a hold over succeeding generations of readers. No amount of newspaper "booming", no amount of friendly puffings can give a book the popularity which survives tke corrosive wear and tear of time, it the human interest is lacking. A novel to be truly popular must deal with some perennial passion —some ever-recurring sentiment. Here the human interest must predominate over all other considerations. The secret of the success of the masters has been the fact that they watch the stream of life unmindful of the eddies that whirl about under the trees in the sunshine of a summer afternoon. Works of fiction which please us by their magnificent fulness of life in movement, their sumptuous passages of description, their poignancy in pathos, and rapidity in action, their unswerving veracity of impression without squallor or emphasis are all true works of art. They give us intellectual enjoyment of the highest kind. Their authors are out in the main stream of literature, and you cannot strand them. "They treat life," said Ian Maclaren, "in a broad human fashion, without prejudice, as you might say." And surely that is the only way to do it. A novel if it is to live must deal with the few great passions of life. Books written for a purpose may be popular for a time, but they never get into the centre of the stream. A true work of art must have enduring interest rising above all passing interests, and stand

> Like a spire of land that stands apart,
> Cleft from the main, and wail'd about with mews.

And these true works of art can never grow old-fashioned and out-of-date.

And this was not the first time that the extinction of the novel was prophesied. It was, we believe, in 1893, that Frederic Harrison in a fit of pessimistic zeal prophesied that the novel was doomed to disappear. It is almost incredible that a clever man like Mr. Harrison could commit himself, in a world such as this, to such an extraordinary statement as the following :—

> The world is growing less interesting, less mysterious, less manifold, at any rate to the outer eye. The *mise-en-scene* of external life is less rich in colour and in contrast. Magnificence, squalor, oddity, historic survivals, and picturesque personalities rarer year by year.

On the other hand the world is growing infinitely more mysterious, more interesting and more manifold. And it is much richer in colour and contrast than before. As for magnificence, squalor, oddity, historic survivals and picturesque personalities they are still as plentiful as blackberries—as anyone can find out for himself if he will use his own eyes instead of taking for gospel truth the words of every "literary dyspeptic."

An age of scientific progress only provides the ingenious novelist with fresh scope for utilising his powers. Steam and electricity help him in his trade. The railway and the steamer supply him with new situations; the post and the telegraph help him in creating plots unused before. In the same article Mr. Harrison made bold to make the following astounding assertion: "Elaborate culture casts chill looks on original ideas. A highly organised code of culture may give us good manners, but it is the death of genius." Culture on the other hand produces original ideas, and stimulates the growth of genius which surely is not a jungle growth.

Speaking of the "perfect novel" Mr. Marion Crawford the gifted American novelist says:

It must deal chiefly with love, for in that passion all men and women are most generally interested either for its present reality or for the memories that soften the coldly vivid recollections of an active past and shed a tender light in the dark places of bygone struggles or because the hope of it brightens and gladdens the path of future dreams. The perfect novel must be clean and sweet, for it must tell its tale to all mankind, to saint and sinner, pure and defiled, just and unjust. It must have the magic to fascinate, and the power to hold its readers from first to last. Its realism must be real, of three dimensions, not flat and photographic; its romance must be of the human heart and truly human, that is, of the earth as we all have found it; its idealism must be transcendent, not measured to man's mind, but proportioned to man's soul.

Needless to tell that opinion must differ, and there must be many novelists who will be chary to accept Mr. Crawford's opinion as it stands. But all must admit that there is much truth in it. The perennial passion of love has always been, and will ever continue to be the chief element in fiction For, in that passion—all-engrossing and-pervading—all men are interested. That there can be stories without it is demonstrated by works like Balzac's exquisite *Atheist's Mass*. But it will ever be the chief food of fiction. To much of the rest we are all agreed. That the novel should always be regarded as a work of art must be admitted by every novelist who has any reverence for his vocation; for he knows best how he becomes the slave of his work—how characters develop themselves and the story unfolds itself while he only feels the cruel sweet pangs of parturition.

The novel is a mighty weapon, offensive and defensive in the hands of master wielders. Dickens made a series of novels serve as onslaughts on various abuses. Thackeray snubbed the snobs in his works. And even now Marie Corelli has been persistent in exposing and condemning the hollowness and hypocrisy of modern European society.

Fiction in the form of the novel of life already outranks the poem and the drama as a method of expression. It is the most modern and unconventional of arts. It is, moreover, the most popular art—the characteristic art of the age. There are novelists who are companions in mansions and cottages; and whose names are household words; and whose books are in every hand. Their characters are our own school friends, the sentiment of our youthful memories, our boon companions, and our early attachments. We enjoy their company, love them, and feel for them.

The appeal to general imagination or to general sympathy which at the time of Shakespeare was made only by the dramatist, is now made only by the novelist.

The newspapers already circulate in billions of tons; but so far from cutting into the domain of the novel, they have widened it by educating readers from devouring fact to consume the novelist's artistic production of fact. "There is no indication in America to-day," writes Mr. H. Garland, an American novelist, "that the public of the novelist is decreasing, rather would it seem that fiction is just laying hold upon the millions living outside the circle of professed patrons of literature."

Probably in some countries the novel is at present declining,—a generation of giants having been succeeded by a band of pigmies. The reason most probably is that a potent generation of novelists has just died out —passed like a whirlwind carrying away and hurrying everything to its extremes. And the conclusion can never follow that the decline will be going till the novel is extinct. "Once in Greece dramatic literature declined in merit. Once in Italy the art of writing history declined in merit. Once in France comedy delined in merit. Repeatedly in England novel writing has delined in merit. But not one of these kept declining everywhere. The history of no art is a dead level, or a long dead level. It consists of movements, of periods of renaissance and decadence. If the novel were now declining in merit throughout the world, in such a fact would lie the simple presumption that in the future it will be revived."*

In a fit of generous anger Swinburne has ,in the opening lines of his appreciation of Wilkie Collins, said .—

The ingratitude of kings and the ingratitude of democracies have often supplied the text of historic or poilitical serm ons; the ingraitude of readers and spectators, from Shakespeare's day to our own, is at least as notable and memorable. A man who has amused our leisure, relieved our weariness, delighted our fancy, enthralled our attention, refreshed our sympathies, cannot claim a place of equal honour in our grateful estimation with the dullest or the most perverse of historians who ever falsified or stupefied history, of metaphysicians who ever 'darkened counsel' and wasted time and wearied attention by the profitless lucubrations of pseudosophy.

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* James Lane Allen in the *North American Review*.

This reproach is hardly well-deserved. The reading public have not grudged the novelist's name and fame,—a perpetual place in the Valhalla of those whom they admire and adore. Their books are admitted to be a consolation in troubled times of gloom and disappointment,—of sorrow and depression. They relieve the dull monotony of everyday existence, and cheer the sick-bed.

Scott and Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot—these are names which will ever remain treasured up in the grateful remembrance of the reading public. Scott the poet may be forgotten, but the fame of Scott the author of the Waverley Novels will ever abide. Schools of philosophy will grow antiquated Scientists will be forgotten while others will teach newer truths; for the greatest men like the smallest stand on the shoulders of their predecessors. Even schools of art will not be the same that they are to-day. But the novelist will continue to cheer and soothe.

And we cannot do better than conclude with the opinion Mr. Hamilton Mabie who holds that as the story in all literatures is one of the earliest forms, and is in all literatures to day the most vital and popular form, it will last till the end of time. At the present time no books are so widely read as novels. So long as life is dramatic and men have imagination they will delight to tell stories, and the dreadful possibility of a world in which the 'Arabian Nights' and 'Vanity Fair' have been expelled by the newspaper may be dismissed.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

AN INDIAN CIVILIAN ON MODERN PERSIA*.

By Major Arthur Glyn Leonard.

ACCORDING to our stiff and rigid Western notions, Persia may be the land of closed doors and closed Hearts, but Persia is Persia for all that—always interesting, mysterious and fascinating! full of memories and glories that have defied even the ruthless ravages of time, her Past alone throws a halo and a glamour over the Present, enthralling enough to captivate the dullest dullard. In her very name alone there is a gold mine of wealth, a wealth of history, romance and poetry, that carries within itself the electrical and instantaneous effect of magic. But most of all it is in the names of her great sons the Thought Leaders and makers of history, that her own national splendour is so clearly reflected, breeding as she so generously did a race of Kings who were rulers over Kings. Chosroes or call them rather Cæsars, who knew how to conquer and to rule, but—alas for the infirmities of human nature—who knew also how to fall.

* '*Through Persia' from the Gulf to the Caspian*—By F. B Bradley Birt., I. C. S., F. R. G S., with thirty-one illustrations and a map. (Smith Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, London, S. W.) 1909. Price 12/6 net.

It has not been given as we know, to every country on this gyrating planet of ours, to produce monarchs and conquerors so numerous and so great as did this land of the once mighty but more recently slumbering East. How many nations are there belonging either to the East or to the West, to the past or to the present, who can boast as Persia can a Cyrus, a Cambyses, a Darius, a Shapur, a Nadir Shah—the Napoleon of Iran—true Imperialists and Empire builders, one and all of them; besides a Shah Abbas, and a Fateh Ali Shah who ruled as only great Kings can rule? Where in the world is the country that has to its credit dynasties so world famous as those of the Achæmenian founded by Cyrus, the Sassanian founded by Shapur—proud conqueror of the Roman Emperor Valerian, the Setavi of Shah Abbas, and last as well as least of all the Kajar dynasty founded by the ferocious eunuch chieftan Aga Mohammed Khan? Where except in Egypt, that land of mystery and of the mighty River God, whose history lies buried beneath the mists and the obscurities of the Eternal Ages, such splendid and imperishable monuments, imperial and magnificent even in their ruin—grand and colossal as if in emulation of their Natural surroundings! Yet great as were these Kings, there are names inscribed on Iran's roll of fame that are even greater still. Names that are not merely written in the monumental adament of marble or of brass, but in the still more enduring immortality of words. Names that will outlive the glory of the mightiest conquerors. Names such as that of Ormuzd Jamshid, Zoroaster, Sadi, Hafiz, Omar Khayyam, Firdausi, and lastly Haroun-al-Rashid, that name of all others, as familiar now in the West, as any household word, open sesame, as it is to that Eastern world of riotous fancies, and luxurious imagination, which has no compeer for this land of the Medes and Persians is not alone a land of memories and monuments: but a land of Poets and Romance writers a land as fertile in the vivid colouring and variation of its imaginativeness, as in the ornamentation and designs of its beautiful carpets.

Speaking of these reminds one of the singularly adroit and subtle answer of Themistocles to Xerxes, when the latter asked him his opinion of Greece: "that speech was like a Persian carpet rolled up, which was full of beautiful colours and images, but which required to be unrolled and spread out before the colours or the figures would be seen and appreciated. He therefore requested time to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the Persian tongue, to be able to afford the King the information he sought in one single view, and not in a detached, disjointed fashion.' History records that this answer so satisfied Xerxes, that he had the magnanimity not even to injure Themistocles, when he had him in his power, and upon whose head he had placed a price—the man above all others who had smashed up his motley myriads, and done him so grievous an injury. But no wonder. For apart from its intellectual subtlety, peculiar too as it was to the Eastern

and Western dualism of the Greek genius, it was the answer of a great man.

Even we conceited Moderns may learn much or at all events something about Persia from this answer of Themistocles. That is if we have the will, the patience and the insight to read out of or to apply to it, the meaning that only awaits interpretation. This because we do not do so, because we belong to the frigid and unbending West, that Persia and her people, essentially Eastern as they are, are to us a land and a people of closed doors and closed hearts. Yet Persia like one of her own costly carpets is full of beautiful colours and images. But alas so carefully and tightly folded up, as to be altogether hidden from the curious gaze of the aggressive Westerner.

This obviously is the case with regard to the book *Through Persia* by Mr. Bradley-Birt. Indeed no one is more insistent on this point than the author himself. In nothing so much does he show his consciousness of this fact, as in his choice of its name. Nothing could have been more appropriate. It is essentially a book descriptive of a run or rush through Persia. It is in no sense a book relative to the present Persia or her people. It is a book about the Past, a book of glorious memories and monuments. Interesting to a degree, and extremely well written, it is in many places strikingly vivid and graphic, especially in the chapters describing Shiraz, and her two great poets, Sadi and Hafiz. But the present is dismissed in the curt and abrupt language of a man whose thoughts are elsewhere, and the personal element is practically *non est*. Right from the very commencement, the author confesses himself beaten at every point. More than once he points out that the doors and the hearts of the poeple were double-locked and cross-barred to him as to all Europeans alike. But he does not explain why. Or rather he fails to give the true reason. He bewails the circumstance, yet forgets or is ignorant of the fact, that it has not always been, and need not necessarily be so. According to him, the blame of course rests entirely with the natives of the country. No blame whatsoever attaches to the Westerner. On his part, there is neither offence nor intrusion. His curiosity is pardonable, his intrusion warrantable. As a member of the worlds university, he travels not only to improve himself but others. Unfortunately there is as much an Eastern side to this argument as a Western, there is a Persian as well as a British estimate of it.

Taking Mr. Bradley Birt as a fair sample of the intelligent and travelled European, it is quite obvious that he had no true sympathy, no real wish, to get into touch with the people. He speaks as if giving vent to a deplorable grievance in respect to their inner mind being a sealed book to all foreigners. Imbued with this idea, it would appear that he on his part, had at the very outset made up his mind not to know more of them

than he could help. According to his own showing Mr. Birt did not make even the slightest endeavour to know the outer man. To look at the people from a distance, and to gaze in rapture on their ancient monuments was obviously the purpose which best suited him. Yet he expresses disappointment, because they did not wear their hearts upon their sleeves, for every passing jackdaw to have a peck at. But is there a living soul in all this world of ours, whether he be a garrulous Celt, or a taciturn Teuton, who is likely to turn his mind inside out for even those who are nearest and dearest to him, much less than to those who are altogether outside his own pale, racially, linguistically, religiously and socially? Surely Mr. Bradley-Birt expects too much from even the complaisant and apathetic Irani. Obviously he has overlooked the fact that he was an Englishman in a (devil of a) hurry, while the inhabitants, as he himself admits are people to whom to-morrow is of more consequence than to-day. Curiously enough, however, the glaring incongruity of the matter, the wide divergence of ethnic spheres and conditions never for a moment appear to have struck him. With the magnificent and imperturbable audacity of the all-conquering Saxon, he assumes as Gospel indisputable, that the Easterner must give way in all things to the Westerner, must go head-over-heels and turn himself inside out for him, while he the Lord and Master of the Universe, stands by and makes shorthand notes.

Now it must be admitted that so far the placid and insouciant Oriental has given way to us in most things. But even the Saxon may at times assume too much. To force Nature is to expect the impossible. Like the Heathen Chinese, it is much more likely that he will conceal the trump cards up his convenienced capacious sleeve, that he will keep his secret thoughts to himself. To him as to Voltaire, words have been given us to conceal our thoughts. In common with that Revolutionary Janus Talleyrand, and that cross between a Cobra and a Congor eel, Fouche, his ruling maxim is that the chief use of words, is to bottle, cork, and seal them up in the silent fœtus of still-born conceptions. As far as Mr. Bradley-Birt is concerned, it is clear that on his part there was no liking of any sort for the people; that not so very deep down in his heart, he had the true Occidental feeling of antipathy and contempt for them. It is clear too, that like the average Englishman, he was insular, unsympathetic and unsociable, accordingly made no advances towards them—not even towards the indispensable and ubiquitous Jaffir Khan, who accompanied him on his journey in the treble function of courier, cook and valet. Yet Mr. Birt candidly admits that Jaffir Khan, was a good all-round man, always useful, willing and energetic, and able to turn his hand to almost anything. A man in fact (to use his own words) of infinite resource and thoroughly adaptable. A man out of whom Mr. Birt might have attempted to make a second Haji Baba. But it is impossible to disguise from ourselves the

fact, that the author like every modern traveller was in a hurry to catch something or get somewhere. Indeed he makes no secret of it. His object was not to study Persia and the Persians, but to get through the country as best and as fast as he possibly could, from its historic world-renowned gulf to the Caspian, and thence home. However much one would like to, it is impossible to deny that on the whole he obtained his hearts desire. That he did not break a record was on the whole no fault of his. But then there was no Pole—not even a Barbers—in the case. That he brought away with him a very pleasant impression of the things he saw, which he has put into a pleasant and readable book, is also undeniable. This unfortunately is the most one can say for it. Indeed not even with a very wide stretch of imagination is it possible to class it as an instructive work. Books of this kind at their best, are but calculated—can in fact only be estimated—as a means or rather medium of pastime, to while away a leisure hour or two. They cannot be taken seriously. If they do no harm —and this is very questionable—at least they do no good. When one compares the present snapshot album of the modern traveller, who is essentially a product of express trains, Motor Cars or Aeroplanes, with Morrier's classic *Haji Baba*, for instance, one is apt to pause and reflect. Even admitting that the comparison is somewhat uneven, Haji Baba being the work, not of an unsociable Westerner, but of a man who was half Eastern by birth, and wholly so in his sympathies, there is still much left to chew the cud of reflection over. For times have changed and with them travellers. Now a days the traveller has not time even to look round him. Reversing the old maxim he waits neither for time nor tide. He is in honour (or it may be dishonour) bound, to go on and break a record. This breaking of records is a positive monomania with him. Any thing for a cheap sensātion. Any claptrap to make him the hero of the moment. That is why the North Pole has its Peary and Peary his Cook. Yet there was a time not so very long ago when the traditional advice of European residents in Persia to intending travellers was—'Take an European saddle and a copy of Haji Baba.' But alas! whether for good or for evil, those old times have gone never to return. We are much too fond of posing as creatures of circumstances. It would be much more appropriate and consistent with modern conditions, if we boldly dubbed ourselves creatures of unrest and change. A ceaseless and continuous chain of transition from which, any more than from destiny, there is no escape.

For this feeling
Of unrest and long resistance
Is but passionate appealing,
A prophetic whisper stealing
O'er the chords of our existence.

A book like this we repeat is of no practical use. It serves no purpose! The Past, especially one like that of Persia is always interesting.

More, it is instructive as being the environment out of which the present has evolved. It is the germ and basis on which the present has been built, and out of which the future is growing. But the past can be read of in history The present—ignorant as we are of the real Persia—is of greater interest and moment. The Personal element of a nation is not only its most important feature, but the one we want to know most of. Besides under present conditions, Persia and her people are full of interesting and instructive problems. The Eastern Mammoth is no longer the drowsy Rip van Winkle that we suppose it to be. After an almost everlasting slumber the olive tinted black-eyed beauty has at last awakened. Recuperated and refreshed by so long and on the whole undisturbed a slumber, invigorated by the full-bodied and stimulating wine of western progress, she reels and staggers under the burden, but for all that with the fixed purpose of turning it to account. In plain English, the east is now in the throes of a deep and widespread transition. Western inventions and methods but particularly the development of steam and electric power, have broken down the barriers of Eastern conservatism and custom. The educatory invasion of the West, is so adding fuel to the fire, that the day is coming when the whole of Asia, from the Levant to far Japan will be ablaze. The sun of Western knowledge and utility has already set alight the underlying petroleum of Oriental intellectuality.

A vast upheaval is now going on, to which Persia is no exception. She too, notwithstanding the procrastination and nonchalance of her children is not so sleepy as our too rapid author would have us imagine. She sleeps, it is true, but with one eye open, and that eye is on the West. But like the sagacions Nelson she turned her bind eye to account, and refuses to unfold her inmost thoughts for the delectation of Tom, Dick and Henry. Tourist and Traveller, all the same, she thinks a good deal and chews the cud of sage reflection over what she thinks. She is not in a hurry and is therefore slow to digest. Consequently there is all the more hope for her. Apart from the intrigues of Bengali seditionists—those Mephistophelion princes in the art of intrigue, Persians themselves have been moved and effected by the recent changes and innovations of Western Civilisation. Not only has it infected them, but actual contagion has spread the fever. Having come into close contact with the fire of European liberation the fire has burnt them. There is no factor in the world so powerful as change, no factor so volcanic and eruptive in its action as Innovation. Hence the recent deposition of the Shah-in-Shah. In spite of what Mr. Bradley-Birt says to the contrary, the Persian people are more alive to the situation, than he would have us believe. Ever so much more alive to it, and to the underlying movement than he is. This after all is not surprising. Mr. Birt was a young man in a hurry. Time was an object to him, as it is to all those who know its value. Naturally enough there was no ad-

mission for him, even into the outer circles of Persian society. Beyond the sombre clad garments of its reposeful and dignified humanity, he did not get, for the quakerlike sombreness of the former made too deep an impression upon him. But clothes alas, though they may proclaim, do not necessarily make the man. It is the man who makes the clothes—who cuts, fashions and colours them to suit his own peculiar fancy.

In estimating the future of Persia, Mr. Birt forgets that Persian constitutionalism cannot possibly be constructed in two or even three generations, any more than Rome which took a thousand years to build her foundations and more than a thousand on the top of that to become eternal. Obscure as her future now is, there is we believe hope for Persia. For her people are not as Mr. Bradley Birt assumes all corrupt and dishonest and incapable of governing themselves. Neither are the Persians as a nation altogether non-existent. It may and will take some time before the liberal system and expansive influence of the West can affect them, but it is found ultimately to affect them, and that perhaps sooner than we imagine. To the modern pushing European like our author—that is from without—Persian constitutionalism may appear Gilbertian and opera bouffe at the best. But to the Persians themselves, to the thinker and leaders of the movement—*i.* e., from within—it is not so. The deposition of the Shah—an event which had not occurred when this book was written—certainly does not make it appear so, altogether disproves it in fact. Those descendants of great and imperial dynasties are not all frivolous and volatile. The seeds of philosophy and the exhilarating waters of the Pierian spring are still in them. There are still serious minded and contemplative persons amongst them. Men who are not all for themselves, but for others. Men who recognise that apart from self or family interest, there is such a thing as the general or National interest. In addition to all this we Europeans with all our vaunted superiority, cannot afford to throw either cold water or ridicule on the first efforts of any nation, to free itself from the shackles of servility and Absolution. On the contrary remembering our own enslavement, and the centuries of struggle it cost to achieve our freedom, we should give it all the moral encouragement that is within our power. It is not exclusively however in Political regeneration that the hope of Persia lies. But rather in the religious, and above all humanistic regeneration of Bahaism. This curiously enough is a movement about which Mr. Bradley-Birt makes not even the slightest allusion, and shows more than anything else the real value of his book. Yet the very significant fact, that after an existence of only six and sixty years, it already embraces a third of the Persian people, besides having extended its dominion outside that country is a fact that speaks for itself. Nor is this a thing to be wondered at in the very least. For as aiming to achieve divine unity and Universal Brotherhood, Bahaism is, not in conception alone, but in its sublime ideals and above all in its sin-

[illegible] practice, one of the greatest human movements that has ever been conceived or set in motion. A constellation, that not for the first time in its history, has arisen in the east but in which the wise men and Grandees of the West take no interest, and about which they have no concern. With a supercilious indifference that blinds them to the true merits of the case, in their jaundiced eyes, no good thing can come out of Asia, For alas they have already forgotten, that it was she the ancient and venerable Mother of us all who fostered those bantlings we call Civilisation and Christianity, upon her youthful step-daughter Europe

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR. (1878-79-80), *By Colonel Hanna*, 3 *Volumes* (*Archibald Constable & Co.*, 10 *Orange Street, London, W. S.*)

By Mr. Lajpat Rai.

COLONEL HANNA'S great work, "the History of the Second Afghan War (1878-79 80): its causes, its conduct, and its consequences," has just been brought to conclusion by the publication of the third volume by Messrs. Constable & Co., London. It is a masterly and complete record of the great events which created great stir and excitement, both in England and in India, on account of the disaster they brought to British arms and the loss of men, money and prestige involved therein. Indian affairs are by a tacit understanding between the two great English Political Parties kept outside party politics. Hence the standing indifference of [illegible]s and the neglect of the latter, [illegible] the Second Afghan War was, [illegible] those [illegible] which proved such an effective weapon in the hands of Mr. Gladstone for his now famous Midlothian Campaign [illegible] to contribute to the overthrow of the Disraeli Administration [illegible] the resignation of Lord Lytton from the Viceroy[illegible]

Colonel Hanna's accou[illegible] War, in its various stages, derives its great value fro[illegible]t the writer took his part in them as an officer on t[illegible] therefore writes from first hand knowledge, but what i[illegible]test value to the Indian Publicist, and the Indian re[illegible]oral of the book, written in Colonel Hanna's direct, i[illegible] picturesque style. There is no beating about the bush.

The author comes straight [illegible]d tells his story with force which is born of truthful[illegible] consciousness of strict

honesty of purpose. The book is remarkably free the author dispenses blame or praise with ... from personal sympathies and antipathies ... is given, a vivid and remarkably human ... which the War brought on the people of the ... were the beginning of the unrest, which ... agitation against the now historic Punjab Colonies ...

Mr. Thorborn, in his work, the *Punjab in Peace* ... given a very graphic account of the hardships fr... people of the Punjab suffered during that War, and has now corroborated that account in the very ... of the third volume of his History of the War. ... chapter which begins with this paragraph the characteristic name of "March of Death" and says .—

The summer of the year 1879 was a season of suffering for the people of India. In the south there was famine, due to a failure of the spring crops, and urther north, where Nature had shown herself more bountiful, the poverty of the peasant denied him the enjoyment of her gifts, even the necessaries of life often exceeding his purchasing powers

"But it was in the Punjab that the burden of the moment was heaviest and the outlook least hopeful. Lying nearest to Afghanistan, that province had contributed far more than its share of the labour and transport which had been used upon the three lines of advance, and with the troops still beyond the frontier, and still needing to be fed and kept supplied with the carriage, without which there could be no withdrawal when the word to withdraw should be given, the demands on its resources were nearly as constant and as exacting as during the continuance of hostilities Agriculture languished under the scarcity of labour, and trade was carried on with difficulty in a country from which animal transport had almost disappeared, and where railways continued to be diverted from their normal uses to the service of the military authorities.

Then follows an account of how the hasty and ill-advised withdrawal of the troops after the fateful treaty of Gandamak was accompanied by great losses in men and animals. The succeeding chapters give a full and detailed account of the mission of Sir Louis Cavagnari to Kabul, and its tragic consequences, followed by the famous March of Lord Roberts to the Capital of Afghanistan, which resulted in the declaration of martial law there, and the deportation of Amir Yakub Khan to India. The chapter on "Martial Law" and on "the Foraging and Burning of Villages", have been written with such a scrupulous regard for truth as to extort admiration for the candour of the author. He tells us how

"The difficulty with regard to evidence was got over by permitting Mohammad Hyat (afterward Nawab Mohammad Hyat Khan, C. S. I.) the Indian civilian to

the task of beating up witnesses was assigned, to examine informers in commission accepting his report of their deposition instead of insisting before it in person, which left the accused in ignorance of and deprived them of the chance of proving their innocence by butting evidence.

merits of [illegible]it which inspired the commission, we will rather let [illegible]anna speak for himself:

"In ordinary circumstances a tribunal consisting of three British officers, owever destitute of judicial experience they might be, would have refused to end men to the gallows on doubtful and tainted evidence; but Roberts's Force, from the highest to the lowest, was so imbued with the conviction that in intent, if not in actual fact, every Afghan was a participant in the crime it had been sent to avenge, that the duty laid upon the Commission seemed more that of selecting a certain number of scapegoats from a guilty population, than of carefully investigating and deciding each case on its merits. A similar state of mind had prevailed in the Mutiny and had found expression in indiscriminate and wholesale massacres; but, at that time, the Indian Government had at its head a wise and humane statesman—Lord Canning—and the Indian Army, a wise and humane soldier—Lord Clyde—both of whom did their utmost to stem the spirit of revenge which they saw to be breaking down the moral sense of their subordinates; whereas, in 1879, the Indian Government itself fanned the angry passions which policy and humanity should have prompted it to allay. When it is remembered that, in flat contradiction of the great bulk of the evidence already in Lord Lytton's hands, his instructions to Sir F. Roberts,—a commander whose recent doing in Khost had proved him to have more faith in force than in justice—were based on the assumption that every Afghan might justly be held responsible for the massacre of the British Embassy, there is little to wonder at in the bitter and callous temper which animated the British officers and men occupying Kabul, and left its fatal mark on the proceedings of the Military Commission.

The chief of Lord Roberts' staff, Sir Charles MacGregor, was not without his doubts as to the justice and wisdom of these summary executions. "I do not believe," he wrote in his diary, "that it ever does good to kill men indiscriminately and I will not lend myself to it."

Men, however, were killed rather indiscriminately and the nemesis followed shortly after. Even the *Times of India* admitted that "the work of vengeance was so complete as to have become somewhat indiscriminate." In the Proclamation of Amnesty issued by Lord Roberts under orders of the Home Government, "he regretted that a good many innocent persons," had been hanged. How "the process of settling the Country by terrorising its people" was carried, is graphically described in the chapter on "Foraging and Village Burning," and what fruits it brought in its train, in the chapter on "Rising Storm." An instance of the former

is quoted from a letter of the correspondent of the *Pioneer*. The quotation runs as follows :—

All Bahadur Khan's villages, some ten in number, were marked down to be looted and burnt, and Sikhs and Sowars were quickly engaged in the work. The houses were found stored with bhusa, straw, firewood, and twigs for the winter, as well as a small quantity of corn, and as there was not time to clear them out, and we could not afford to leave a force for the night in such a dangerous position so near to the hills, orders were given to fire the villages and destroy the houses and their contents. No better men than Sikhs could be found for such work, and in a few minutes Bahadur Khan's villages were in flames, and volumes of dense black smoke pouring over the valley, a high wind aiding the fire with frantic earnestness.

Before applying the torch, the earthen corn bins, which are the special feature of all Afghan peasant houses, were smashed to pieces, and every hole and corner ransacked in the hope of discovering hidden treasure; whilst outside, soldiers and camp-followers vied with each other in chasing down ducks, fowls, and donkeys, and the cavalry scoured the country, driving in the villagers' few cows and sheep.

With so many hands ready to help, a few hours sufficed to complete the work of destruction, and by evening the force, with all the loot worth removal, was back in camp, leaving the Dara Nirikh Valley " full of smoking ruins and blazing stacks."

These chapters are conclusive proof so often furnished, and so often ignored by men in authority, all the world over, of the folly of a " policy of terror" ; how a "campaign of retribution" ripened into a "harvest of hatred" and how "the exactions and barbarities" of the avenging army resulted in dangerous and widespread disturbances. To us, as we said before, the most interesting chapter is the one which records the "Consequences of the War". It confirms the views held by Indian politicans about the military policy of the Government. The chapter opens with the touching contrast of the consequences of the first War with those of the second.

History nowhere presents a closer parallel than that which exists between the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Afghan War of 1838-42, and the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Afghan War of 1878-80. Both had their origin in the fear of Russia, yet neither had Russia for its object. Each was begun under a fatal misconception of its character, cost, and probable duration. Each, though, in intention, directed solely against a Prince, became, in its progress, a struggle with a People. Each ran a long and chequered course, and was marked by incidents little creditable to British honour and humanity. Each closed with a march which surrounded political failure with a halo of military success, and gave an air of freedom to an inevitable retreat.

Each left behind it, to the people of India, a legacy of indebtedness and poverty, to the people of Afghanistan, a legacy of bitter memories and deep

distrust of British promises. Each failed of its object, nay, more than failed, for, instead of establishing on the throne of Kabul a sovereign devoted to British interests, the one ended in the restoration of the able Prince to the Amirship of the last man on whom, from its own point of view the choice of the Indian Government should have fallen, because the man apparently most likely to profer Russia's influence to that of Great Britain.

Discussing the consequences of the war, in an earlier part of the same chapter, the writer points out how, as a result of the war.

Slowly, but surely, one tribe after another.........has come to regard the Indian Government with over-growing distrust and dislike; to disbelieve utterly in the fairness of the intentions of a neighbour which, with or without pretext, has not scrupled to penetrate deep into their territories and make no secret of its determination to bring them under its authority. The one fata consequence of the War of 1878 was just the change of policy towards the border tribes, and it is directly traceable to an unfortunate concession made by the Gladstone Cabinet to views that it did not share.........The annexation of Quetta and Pishin, and the creation of outposts in Kakai territory to protect the Harnai Railway made possible that "insidious creeping over the country like a mist" so indignantly repudiated by Sir William Mansfield when Commander-in-Chief in India. The fruits of this method have so far been one big war and many little wars: the locating a number of small garrisons in inaccessible regions, in the midst of hostile peoples; a large addition to India's military forces; a big increase in her military and political charges; the concentration of a large part of her army within sight of the north-west; and the creation of a fresh school of alarmists, men wilder in their visions of coming evil than their predecessors.

Well may Colonel Hanna add that "the subsequent creation of a separate North-West Frontier province by Lord Curzon and "the policy of pampering to the vanity of the border tribes by bribing them with big doles of money" is not likely to "leave any good fruit." Constant and ever-increasing raids into British territory resulting in enormous loss of life and property are among some of the latest fruits of these unhappy measures. Quoting Lord Lawrence as to the antecedent conditions on which India's foreign Government can enjoy security in the face of a threatened invasion he winds up with the following weighty observations:—

On such broad foundations as those described by Lord Lawrence something greater may be achieved than mere immunity from panic in the face of danger threatening from without—namely, the creation of a strong and prosperous India, loyal to the connection to which she owes her unity; but they can never be laid whilst money which should be left in the people's pockets or spent on reproductive works, is wasted on fortifications and strategic railways, the maintenance of an army greatly in excess of its legitimate strength, and the up-keep of outposts which serve no purpose save to irritate and provoke the tribes whom they are supposed to control.

We commend the following to the present day Administrators of India who hold the educated Indians in such hearty contempt.

A national Government, embarking on the most indefensible of wars, can always count on the blind support of the majority of its countrymen; an alien Government appeals in vain to the passions and prejudices of its subjects. ....The educated native knows that India, with her land frontier triply guarded by river, desert, and mountain, has no reason to fear foreign invasion; and no sophistry can convince him that the Scientific Frontier of the Forward Party will add to his security or fail to add to his burdens; and *it must not be forgotten that the educated native has to-day greater opportunities of influencing his uneducated countrymen than he had seventy or even thirty years ago.*

And lastly:—

Political reforms mock a nation's hopes so long as material conditions remain unimproved; and because Militarism and Poverty always have been, and always will be indissolubly allied, the dearest wish of every lover of England and India must be to create in both countries a Forward Party which shall take as its watchword, "Progress founded on Peace."

The whole book affords a valuable object lesson to those who insist on a policy of 'Sword and Fire' in the East, and who place their greatest faith in repression, suppression, and confiscation in the Government of the Eastern Countries. Never was its futility, and mischievousness more effectively condemned than by the consequences of the Afghan War as recorded, for all times to come, by Colonel Hanna, who has earned the gratitude of posterity by his faithful history of the events of the War.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Books, Booklets and Pamphlets: New and New Editions.

MESSRS. WATTS & Co. (17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London E. C.) are rendering most valuable service to the cause of Rationalism by adding, from time to time, texts of standard works in their "Rationalist Press Association Cheap Reprint" series, published at sixpence each. They are marvellous six penny publications, considering their excellent get-up. Some of the recent editions we have received are such valuable and standard works as Herbert Spencer's *Man* versus *the State*; Huxley's *Lectures and Essays*; Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe*, and *Last Words on Evolution*; Grant Allen's *Hand of God*; Bastian's *Nature and Origin of Living Matter*, and Farrer's *Paganism aud Christianity.* Readers interested in Rationalism should keep themselves in touch with this series and the other publications of Messrs. Watts, especially their new series of "History of the Sciences," the

first four volumes of which, dealing with the history of Astronomy Chemistry and Old Testament Criticism, we reviewed in terms of high appreciation in the issue of this review for July last. Three other publications of the same firm, which are of interest to students of rationalistic thought are a new cheap edition of Mr. P. Vivian's *Churches and Modern Thought*, which has, ever since its first appearance some years back, deservedly come to occupy the position of a classic in the literature of the subject, and two booklets, one on the *Task of Rationalism* by Mr. John Russell, being a historical survey of the subject with speculations as to its prospects, and the *New Trend in 'Religion*, being a collection of instructive selections from various sources illustrating the new view of European thought—ethical, modernist and progressive. Two other publications of the same firm which are of interest to cultured readers, are the yearly volumes of the *Rationalist Press Association Annual* and the *Annual Report* of the same Association, the former containing most valuable contributions on topics of current interest in the domains of Theology and Philosophy, and the latter a useful record and review of the work done by the Association in advancing the cause of Rationalism. Last but not least, there is the same firm's monthly, called the *Literary Guide and Rationalist Review*, an excellent periodical, most admirably conducted with sanity, discrimination and tolerant broadmindness, full of instructive contributions and well-informed reviews and notices of current theological and philosophical literature. It is neatly got-up and is cheaply priced at two pence a copy. It should find a very large circulation, by reason of its excellence, combined with cheapness, amongst educated Indians, who will through it be able to keep themselves in touch with the most advanced European thought. We have only one suggestion to make ; that this periodical should be called simply the *Rational's Reviewalist*, or if the first portion of the title is to be retained, it may be known as the *Rationalist Review and Literary Guide*, thereby bringing into relief the characteristic feature of the publication, which is largely obscured by its present designation.

The Indian Press, Allahabad, are to be commended on two of their recent publications, which are both excellently got-up. One is *Notes on the Garhwal District*, by Rai Bahadur Pandit Dharmanand Joshi, a retired Deputy Collector and the other *Education in India, with Special Reference to the United Provinces*. The former is a useful and interesting contribution to the study of the administration and the sociological conditions of one of our important hill-

districts, written by one who is an expert on the subject. We regret in it only one thing—its long " list of errata," a rather unusual thing in an Indian Press publication. *Education in India* has been compiled by our esteemed and valued contributor, Pandit Manohar Lal Zutshi, M. A., who has brought together in the volume under notice a number of important state documents on the subject of Indian education and enriched the collection by contributing himself a luminous Introduction. The work is one which none interested in the subject can afford to neglect.

Messrs. Higginbothom & Co., of Madras, have recently brought out three very useful publications on subjects connected with the great agricultural industry of India, by Mr. John Kenny, Director of Agriculture, Junagarh State. These are *Cocoanut, Manure and Tillage* and *Rice Fertilisers and their Value*, in one pamphlet; *Tea: A few Hints on Manuring, Coffee, Potash as a Fertiliser* and *Tobacco: Quality, Soil and Manure Required*, another pamphlet; and the *Value of Manures*, a third pamphlet. Mr. Kenny is a well-known expert on Agriculture and his three pamphlets are valuable contributions to the literature of the subject. We have much pleasure in commending them.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras, are as ever to the fore with a large number of useful and valuable publications. In his *Agricultural Industries in India*, Mr. Seedick R. Sayani has given a good deal of information regarding a large number of our agricultural products. The subjects treated cover a wide field and include among others Rice, Wheat, Cotton, Sugarcane, Jute, Oil-seeds, Accasia, Wattle-barks, Sunhemp, Camphor, Lemon-grass Oil, Ramie, and Rubber. Minor products such as Potatoe, Fruits, Lac, Tea and Coffee, Tobacco and Manures and a number of subsidiary industries such as Sericulture, Agriculture, Floriculture, Cattle-farming, Dairy Industry and Poultry-raising are also dealt with. The Hon. Sir Vithaldass Dammodhar Thackersey, who writes a brief Introduction, commends the book to the public as it gives "valuable information regarding the present state and future possibilities of the future cultivated crops of India." This handy little volume, priced at a rupee, is a very useful compendium of information and a valuable adjunct to Mr. Kenny's booklets. Other equally useful recent publications of the same firm are *Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education* by Mr. E. B. Havell. They have all appeared in various British and Indian periodicals, but their reprint in the collection under notice is none the less welcome as they deal with subjects which are of great interest to educated

Indians. One of the essays reprinted is the famous paper on "The Taj and its Designers," contributed some years back to the *Nineteenth Century*. Altogether the Indian public should be grateful to Messrs Natesan & Co. for having placed before them this valuable collection of Mr. Havell's scattered contributions. *Light on Life*, is a collection of "five spiritual discourses" of the Swami, Baba Premanand Bharti, recently delivered in Madras; Another similar collection being *Baba Bharti in Madras*, published by Messrs. G. C. Lognadham Bros. (Mount Road, Madras). The two pamphlets supplement each other and are interesting reading.

The Fountain-Head of Religion is a work for which Mr. Ganga Prasada, M. A., (of the Executive branch of the Provincial Civil Service of these provinces) is responsible. Its sub-title is "a comparative study of the principal religions of the world and a manifestation of their common origin from the Vedas," and it has for its motto the following extract from Swami Dayanand's *Sattyartha Prakash* :—"It is certain that all sciences and religions which have spread in the world have been disseminated from the country of Aryavarta." Have they? But that, we are told, "is certain." Is it though? But if it is, then has not Mr. Ganga Prasada written a wholly superfluous book? The traditional saying imputed to Caliph Omar is analogous. He is reported to have said about the books in the library at Alexandria :—"If they agree with the Koran, they are superfluous, if they don't they should perish." Mr. Ganga Prasad, has brought to bear upon the subject a state of mind akin to that of Omar (if the words imputed to the Caliph be true), with the inevitable result that with all the vast learning as displayed in the references cited in the foot-notes, his work is wholly uncritical and remains an unconvincing performance. It is, however, a typical Arya Samajist work and has thus a value of its own as symptomatic of the present religious and intellectual temperament of that important and influential section of the Hindu community.

The New Message by Mr. Gopal Chander Mukherji, M. A., B. L., (19-2 Wellington Street, Calcutta) is a remarkable booklet and merits careful perusal. It is a more or less original contribution to the discussion of a subject of permanent interest, that of the good and the evil in the universe and of man's duties to God. The conception, borrowed evidently from Zoroastrianism but worked out on independent lines, is that of, what the author has designated, "Ari," *i. e.*, Anti-God, and it is certainly an original creation marked by sublimity of thought. The brouchere offers serious food for

reflection and the author deserves to be congratulated on his having successfully worked out in a brief compass a plea for universal altruism. We commend a careful study of this tract to all serious students of Theology and Philosophy.

The paper on "Poona and its suburbs" read before the Deccan College Essay Society by Mr. W. K. M. Kumthekar, B.A., LL.B., of that city, has been printed in a pamphlet, and we are glad that it is now available to a larger public. It is not a mere tourist's hand-book and though more or less a compilation, it displays beyond doubt a good deal of research and renders accessible in an interesting form of information not open to the average reader, being scattered in rare and expensive sources. We have much pleasure in commending it to all who are interested in the fortunes of the once great Mahratta capital.

That veteran publicist, Mr. D. E. Wacha, has done well to bring out in a nicely got-up volume, his contributions to the *Advocate of India*, on what is known in Bombay as the "share mania" of 1864-5, which in its disastrous consequences might be compared with the South Sea Bubble scheme. The papers appeared originally so far back as 1897, but they have not lost in interest in the interval. On the contrary at a time when the question of the reclamation of the Back Bay of the Western capital in the air and the state of affairs in Bombay is tending in the direction of encouraging enormous speculations, the publication of the book—*A Financial Chapter of the History of Bombay City* (Commercial Press, Bombay), is most opportune. Mr. Wacha, who was then a young man, was a witness to the series of dramatic incidents which he has so graphically recorded in the volume under notice. It is not possible for us in the space at our disposal to set forth in detail the almost romantic contents of this publication. Suffice it to say that it is not only of great interest to financiers and speculators, but to all who are desirous of familiarising themselves with one of the most sensational episodes in the history of the capital of the Western Presidency. Mr. Wacha's pen-pictures are vivid and life-like, and we hope he will offer to the reading public his reminiscences of other interesting scenes and incidents in Western India.

THE LATE MR. SANJIVA ROW'S LEGAL PUBLICATIONS: A REVIEW.

1. *The Lawyer's Reference, Civil, Calcutta*, 3 Vols.—Rs. (29-0). 2 *The Code of Civil Procedure*, 2 Vols.—(Rs. 25-5.) 3. *The Indian Evidence Act*, 2 Vols.—Rs. (19-0.) 4. *The Code of Criminal Procedure* (Rs. 11-0) 5. *The Indian Limitation Act*, (Rs. 10.) 6. *The Lawyer's Reference, (Criminal). Calcutta*, (Rs. 7-12.) 7. *The Lawyer's Reference, Criminal, Bombay*, (Rs. 7-8.) 8. *The Lawyer's Reference, Criminal, Madras*, (Rs. 7-0.) 9. *The Indian Contract Act*, (Rs. 5 0.) 10. *The Trusts Act, Trustees' Act, (Trustee and Mortgagees' Powers Act)*, (Rs. 4-12.) 11. *The Provincial Insolvency Act*, (Rs. 4-8.) 12. *The Indian Railways Act* (Rs. 3-12) 13. *The Stamp Act* (Rs. 2-8.) 14. *The Easements Act*, (Rs. 2-0.) 15. *The Specific Relief Act*, (Rs. 2-0.) 16. *The Negotiable Instruments Act*, (Rs. 1-8) 17. *The Current Index of Indian Cases, for 1905-1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909.* (Rs. 4-12 each year's Vol.) 18. *The All-India Civil Court Manual, Imperial Acts*, Vol. I—(Rs. 7-0.) (Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras.)

IT is with feelings of deep regret that we have learnt of the sudden and premature death, at the age of fifty, of Mr. of T. V. Sanjiva Row, the well-known law publisher, on the 20th September, at Madras. For almost a quarter of a century, he had energetically devoted himself to the service of the legal profession with a zeal and singleness of purpose almost unparallelled. Anything that tended to lighten the task of the busy practitioner was his delight and no sooner was it thought of, than it was immediately accomplished. His life was one of strenuous industry, and he did yeoman's service to the legal profession by his many law publications. It may truly be said of him that he really succeeded in his mission of lightening the task of the busy practitioner. While sincerely regretting his death, we are glad to learn from a communication sent by his nephew, Mr. Venkaswamy Row,—which appears elsewhere—that the business started and organized by his uncle, will be carried on and expanded on the lines laid down by Mr. Sanjiva Row.

Of the publications of which the late Mr. Sanjiva Row was the editor, compiler or annotator, we have already noticed some of them, from time to time, in terms of the highest appreciation, especially his monumental edition of the *Indian Reports*, of which the first three volumes (containing the whole of Moore's *Indian Appeals*) have already been published. His *Current Index of Indian Cases* is an absolutely indispensable adjunct to every lawyer's bookshelf. His latest enterprise of which only the first volume has so far appeared—the *All-India Civil Court Manual*—is out and out the best publication of its class, possessing useful features of a work of refer-

ence, not found in any of the other editions of such compilations. Of his annotated editions of the important Acts, it may be unhesitatingly said of them that they are of all such publications, by for the most comprehensive in bringing together analytical digests of the case-law under each section. The rulings in all these books have been digested with remarkable and infinite patience and as systematic repertories of case-law, the books are unique in the range of Indian legal literature. Of course, a system like this has obviously its advantages and disadvantages, it being a case of *embarras de riches.* Junior practitioners are likely to be appalled by such an exhaustive treatment, as they may not be able occasionally to see the wood for the trees. In the hands, however, of the more experienced practitioners, the treatment of the subject on so thorough a scale and such all-inclusive lines, is bound to prove highly useful and advantageous. Any way, no one in search of precedents to support an argument is likely to be disappointed if he uses Mr. Sanjiva Row's annotated editions. The get-up of the publications is excellent and does credit to the resources of his press establishment.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

SIR THEODORE MORISON will probably bring out before Christmas another work on Indian Economics of a semi-official nature. It is understood that Lord Morley will take a benevolent interest in the publication of the book. The book comprises the lectures which Sir Theodore has recently been delivering at the London School of Economics.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, London, inform us that they are the publishers of Commander Peary's new book entitled *The North Pole.* The book will contain a preface by ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, and there will be at least 100 illustrations, and probably between 300 and 400 pages of matter. *The North Pole* will be ready early next month and will cost about Rs. 12 in India.

Messrs. Watts and Co. are issuing for the Rationalist Press Association, Limited, a revised and much enlarged edition of Mr. John M. Robertson's "Christianity and Mythology." The work, which extends to nearly 500 pages and is published at the popular price of Rs. 5, discusses from an advanced point of view the progress of mythology as a science, the numerous and striking parallels between Christ and Krishna, and the mythical element in the Gospels. The same firm announces a translation from the French of a small work "The Legend of Christ" by Professor Virolleaud, of the University of Lyons.

Our readers will be interested to learn that Mr. H. G. Keene's monumental *History of India* is to be completed to the end of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. To students of history Mr. Keene needs no introduction. His historical writings are not mere records of facts: they are clothed in language that is chaste,

expressed in a style that is clear and crisp, and the historian's own reflections show the comprehensiveness and impartiality with which he surveys the past. It will be remembered that his *History of India* was originally written at the instance of the Civil Service commissioners and was at once pronounced to be admirable. Now that it has been revised and brought up-to-date, we trust it will receive the patronage it deserves.

Messrs. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., (of Broadway House, Ludgate Hill, London, E. C.,) have just issued, *Through Persia in Disguise, with Reminiscences of the Indian Mutiny*, by the late Colonel C. E. Stewart, C. B., C. M. G. These memoirs, which have been carefully edited from the late Col. Stewart's diaries by Mr. Basil Stewart, himself an author of important travel books, will be of special interest to Anglo-Indians as the record of one who rendered distinguished services during the Indian Mutiny, and who some years later travelled alone through Persia and on the Afghan boundary in disguise, a feat which at the time had never before been carried out successfully. The account setting forth the adventures and hardships met with makes engrossing reading, and will, we think, take an important position amongst the numerous books of memoirs recently published. The book has numerous full-page illustrations (of which two are in colour) besides several text-cuts and maps. The size is medium 8vo., and the price is 12/6 *Net*.

Announcement is officially made that we are to have the first volume of W. F. Monypenny's "Life of Lord Beaconsfield" in the autumn. Mr. Monypenny is a busy man, and that fact probably accounts for the considerable time which has elapsed since he began the work. Moreover, the materials for the earlier portion of the life must have required the most gathering. There was no faithful Lord Rowton in the earlier days to keep papers and records, and the contemporary material which can be drawn upon is comparatively slight. Previous biographers have found huge difficulties, which must have been increased rather than diminished in the case of an author who aims at being the final authority. This first volume is to take Lord Beaconsfield down to the year 1837, when he was only on the threshold of his Parliamentary career. It will deal, that is to say, with the least interesting portion of his life, although by that time he had established his reputation as a novelist by "Vivian Grey" and "Contarini Fleming," both of which have considerable auto-biographical material in them. We may speculate whether the biography will stimulate interest in the novels. Who reads Benjamin Disraeli now? A few choice spirits, perhaps, but a popular demand for his works is almost non-existent. Taste has changed since the artificialism of Disraeli was fashionable. Mr. John Murray is the publisher.

The *Moslem World* is to be started very soon—the first issue being due on January 1st, 1911. It is to be a quarterly review of current events, literature nd thought among Mahomedans, and the progress of Christian Missions in Muslim lands. The Magazine is partly the outcome of the World Missionary Conference of Edinburgh, and is to be carried on under the new Editorship of Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, a well-known authority on Islam and a missionary in Arabia. He will be assisted by the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, B. A., of Cairo, Dr. Johannes Lepsius of the Potsdam Seminary for training workers among Muslims and others. Each number will contain articles dealing with the history and

doctrines of Islam, and the missionary problem throughout the Muslim wo rld. A special feature will be a *resume* of the contents of the Muslim Press at Cairo, Constantinople and other places. It should be a Magazine that should be indispensable for all workers among Mahomedans, and of equally great interest to Mahomedans themselves. It is to be printed by the Nile Mission Press and the Indian Publishers are the Christian Literature Society of Madras. The price will be four shillings per annum post free. This is the first magazine of the kind that has been published and it should create a very considerable amount of interest, more especially in this country.

India : Information for Travellers landing at Bombay and Calcutta, is one of the latest publications of Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son of Bombay. The object of this pamphlet is to bring to the notice of Europeans and Americans the ease with which India can now be visited and the very great attractions which she presents to travellers. This it does admirably, and the notes and descriptions give very valuable hints for a tour through India. All the famous show places are vividly described, and the method and means by which to reach them are also clearly set forth. Quite a useful feature is a series of suggested itineraries, whilst a comprehensive programme of a tour in India, lasting over the whole of the winter-season leaves out but few places that should be visited. Messrs. Cook have done travellers a service in issuing this brochure of which they have distributed 20,000 copies. They have also done a service to India, the many and varied attractions of which they have been assiduously advertising in Europe and America for now over a quarter of a century, and there can be no doubt that the large nnmber of tourists who now 'invade' the country each cold season are principally drawn through the efforts of Messrs. Cook & Son. The pamphlet under notice is beautifully got up and is intended for free distribution.

Though, strictly speaking, a trade organ, yet no Anglo-Indian publication is more interesting and useful to travellers in India than the *Oriental Travellers' Gazette* issued monthly in Bombay by Messrs Thomas Cook and Son. Since the first issue of the Gazette in 1885 it has undergone continuous improvement. It is now an excellently got-up and beautifully illustrated magazine, devoted to travel and recreation in all parts of the world, and is brimful of interest to all tourists, as it contains a large amount of most useful information on all subjects connected with travel. No less than the illustrations, the letter-press—the travel sketches of the scenes and sights of the various countries—is of special interest. Besides these there is a large amount of accurate information given in it about the routes and fares of railways, steamers and outward and homeward sailings as also about hotels, transport of luggage and, in fact, every thing which a traveller would like to know. The *Oriental Travellers' Gazette* is undoubtedly the best travellers' magazine published in India. By reason of the extremely readable and useful mattter it contains, the *Gazette* should appeal to all devoted to travel, and it would, no doubt, be welcome news to them that its enterprizing proprietors distribute it gratis to all, who may care to know anything of the requirements of modern travel. The *Oriental Travellers' Gazette* is on account of the comprehensive character of its contents, of equal interest and utility to those who may either be contemplating a tour in India or in any other part of the world.

Mr. H. R. Tedder, in a letter to the *Times*, states that the Herbert Spencer trustees have arranged with Messrs. Williams & Norgate to issue a popular

edition of his works in a cheap and well-printed form. The series will commence with *First Principles*, which will appear shortly. If the venture is successful the trustees will follow with others, in a uniform style and price. Mr. Tedder goes on to say that though some of the first editions of Mr. Spencer's works will soon be running out of copyright, within the last few years of his life he thoroughly revised all, and in parts rewrote some of his earlier writings, so that the first editions no longer represent his mature views, and the editions on sale by his publishers, Messrs. Williams & Norgate, are the sole texts which are authoritative. The popular edition of *First Principles*, containing the final amendments, both of matter and of form, made by Herbert Spencer not long before his death, will be in two volumes of 240 pages each, bound in cloth, and issued at one shilling net per volume. In the author's preface to the sixth edition he states, "while the changes of substance constitute improvements of some significance the changes of form constitute a greater improvement. Now that after this long interval I am able to criticise my exposition as though it had come from another, these changes, I believe, conduced to lucidity, has entailed considerable abridgment, and it is a source of great satisfaction to me that the opportunity has arisen for making these changes." The *First Principles* are the first volumes that should be read by anyone seeking to know the author's "System of Synthetic Philosophy," and their publication in a really cheap form will be widely welcomed

We announced in our last issue the appearance of a new monthly from Bankipore, called *Modern Behar*. We have since then received its first number, for October. It appears in glaring red covers and is neatly got up. It opens with a thoughtful editorial significantly headed "Behar's Contribution to Indian Nationalism" It affords instructive reading. It points out how Behar has been able to work out its ideal of an Indian Nationality based upon the willing and hearty co-operation of both the Hindu and the Mussalman communities. The same subject in its broader issues and larger aspects is hauled in the first of a series of articles by the Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque. The article in the present issue—"the Hindu-Mussalman Problem—I—is introductory. We look forward with interest to the further instalments, as the series promises to be a valuable contribution to the solution of the most crucial question. "Education and Citizenship in India" is a critical appreciation of Mr. Leonard Alston's book of that name, which has recently appeared. It betrays the hand of an experienced reviewer. Professor Maheshwar Prasad, of the Miur Central College, has a long and appreciative study of the career of the editor of the *Hindustan Review*, which makes interesting reading. We have then as "the Editors' Arm-chair," a survey of some of the important current events. These comments are well-written. The last two items are "The Students' world" and "Cuttings and Jottings." Altogether *Modern Behar* is likely to take its place as one of the best of young men's magazines and we commend it to the attention of our college students, for whom it is principally meant. If it be true—as we believe it is—that it is not the great names that make a magazine but the magazine that brings greatness to the name, our young men have now the chance of distinguishing themselves through the medium of *Modern Behar* to which we wish all success. It is very cheap at Rs. 2 for all that it gives.

The first edition of the Allahabad Exhibition handbook is to appear on or about November 15th. The handbook is to run to nearly 400 pages and there will be 15 chapters, the first of which will be devoted to a general introduction and the second to a topographical sketch. The succeeding chapters will be devoted to the different buildings and courts. There will be photographs of the Patrons and of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman and also of various buildings in the Exhibition. The second edition to be published about a month later will give a more detailed description of each exhibit.

The Prince of Destiny by Mr. Sarath Kumar Ghosh has just been published in Norway in translation. This is the first modern Indian work that has been published in that language. Following Her Majesty the Queen's acceptance of the book from the author and her gracious thanks to him for his arduous labour in writing it, Queen Maud of Norway has likewise accepted a copy from him. We congratulate Mr. Ghose on his unprecedented success as a writer of Indian fiction.

TOPIC OF THE DAY: LORD MINTO'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

BEFORE the next number of the *Hindustan Review* is published, the viceroyalty of India would have passed from the hands of Lord Minto to those of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. Lord Minto came to India five years ago at practically a moment's notice and without, therefore, the advantage or disadvantage of the journalistic flourishes which proclaim the glories of a Viceroy-elect for months before his advent. The inditers of the usual public addresses thus left to shift for themselves, had to fill the vellum with picturesque reference to incidents connected with the landing of Lord Minto's ancestor at Madras, about a hundred years ago. Lord Minto's replies to them were as modest as they were brief. He had no large programme in his portmanteau. His one specific purpose was to give the country rest or, as he said, "to ease the horse." In the admirable speech which he made at the farewell dinner, given him by the United Service Club of Simla, His Excellency, we think, rather gave a rosier complexion to the feelings with which he entered on his term of office than the circumstances of the time were likely to have evoked. Their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales, were, it is true, already in India, and it is also the fact that there was a lull in political agitation, induced by their presence in the country. But the gravest discontent had manifested itself for months previous to their arrival in consequence of certain measures and utterances of Lord Curzon, and the authorities in England were fully apprised of it. It was, indeed, believed in this country that the real reason of Mr. Balfour's government in deciding on Lord Curzon's recall, was that the purpose of the Royal visit would not be fully assured if a Viceroy who had made himself so odious to large sections of the people continued to be at the head of the administration. It is impossible to believe that Lord Minto was entirely unaware of the difficulties which his predecessor had created, and we can only regard his Excellency's statement in his recent speech that he was encouraged by the feeling that he was succeeding a statesman who had bequeathed an administrative machinery the efficiency of which he had continuously laboured to perfect, either as a piece of subtle irony

or of generous exaggeration. His Excellency himself in a later part of the same speech, admitted that ever since he landed at Bombay, the political state of India had been foremost in his thoughts. "In those early days", he continued, " I could not but realise all too soon that the political atmosphere was heavy and electric. I felt it : my colleagues felt it : I believe every one who thought at all felt it." The reforms which have brought about the present improved situation, are, as his Excellency rightly claimed, the great work of the Government of India during his administration. The normal problems of that Government, relating to the preservation of peace on the frontiers, to famine and epidemic diseases, and to legislation to meet the growing demands of the population, have been quite as insistent as ever, and there has been no slackening in the efforts to meet and solve them. But the "reforms" constitute the distinctive feature of Lord Minto's regime, that which has made it memorable in the long annals of our country. Following his Excellency's own example, we shall deal in this article almost solely with these reforms.

We have quoted above a part of the passage in which Lord Minto described the political situation as it presented itself on his arrival to him and his colleagues. We may give the rest of it here. "As my knowledge of the state of public affairs increased," his Excellency continued, " I became more and more aware of sullen and widespread dissatisfaction and discontent, a dissatisfaction shared by many loyal subjects of the Throne. There was a widespread political unrest, quite apart from revolutionary sedition. Some great change was evidently affecting the conditions which British administrators had hitherto so successfully directed and controlled. Influences were at work which the Government of India could not shut its eyes to. " Everyone who knows anything of the actual state of feeling in the country, will see that this picture is by no means overdrawn. In his preoccupation of perfecting the machinery, Lord Curzon had spared no susceptibilities, and the " revolutionary sedition " of which Lord Minto spoke, was almost entirely the outcome of his predecessor's measures and methods. His Excellency claimed that as the result of his reforms, the political situation has been radically improved. " They have cleared the air, " said Lord Minto, "They have helped to define the true intentions of different political factors. Moderate political thought has throughout India rallied to their views. The representatives of extreme views have been

located in their own camp, the machinations of anarchy have been disclosed, a line has been distinctly drawn between the supporters of political change and the instigators of political outrage. The depressing suspicion and apprehensions of mysterious influences have largely disappeared. A happier feeling is abroad."

The improvement is, indeed, nothing short of marvellous, and we heartily re-echo his Excellency's emphatic denial that should further outrages occur, they could be taken as symbolical of the political state of India. This is an achievement of which any statesman may well be proud, and India and the Empire owe Lord Minto a great debt of gratitude for it. But Indians at any rate, cannot rid themselves of the feeling that the results of his Excellency's reforms would have been even greater but for the unaccountable position of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in regard to the partition of Bengal. Whatever might have been the case in other parts of the country, there was no "revolutionary sedition" in Bengal, previous to the partition of that province on an arbitrary plan. It was the partition that drove several loyal and moderate men in Bengal into the ranks of political agitation of an unprecedentedly vehement type, that led to the inauguration of the unfortunate "boycott" movement and, as a result, to the deportation without trial of men like Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter. Our own view of the matter is that there would have been no "revolutionary sedition" at all, at any rate none worth mentioning, if Government had adopted a reasonably conciliatory attitude in regard to the partition. The Secretary of State has repeatedly spoken disparagingly of the way in which the measure was carried out. In the House of Lords he declared on one occasion that he did not know why it should be regarded as sacrosanct. A veteran like Lord MacDonnel denounced it as the greatest blunder committed since the battle of Plassey. The vast bulk of Bengalees have never ceased to cry out against it. Yet, it has been maintained as "a settled fact." It was a profound observation that Lord Minto made in his recent speech that the strongest man is he who is not afraid of being called weak. It is the weak man, the man who is painfully conscious of his incapacity and his indecision of character, that is constantly in dread of discovering himself in his native weakness, by an act of concession. A strong man has no such fear. Judged by this standard how weak has been the Government's show of strength on the subject of the partition of Bengal! No reasonable person expected that the partition would be

altogether undone and that Bengal would be once more restored to her old unwieldy dimensions. But there was more than one way in which it could have been modified so as to retain all the advantages of the present measure without splitting up the Bengalee-speaking districts. We do not know who is responsible for the failure of Government to show some deference to public sentiment on this subject, but we are sure that a less unbending attitude on their part would have deprived the present situation of the one surviving cause of disappointment. We ought to say at the same time that the Bengalee leaders did not go about their work of persuading Government to modify the partition in the wisest manner possible. But for the unsavoury idea of "boycott," Government might have felt less constrained to stand upon "the settled fact." Who can tell?

Another matter in regard to which Lord Minto's views have not coincided with a large section of informed Indian opinion, is the necessity of denominational, or to be more precise, separate Mahomedan electorates in connection with the enlarged Legislative Councils. Although few persons went so far as to say, with the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, that they would rather not have the reforms than have them with this innovation, many thoughtful men felt that his Excellency had, in his reply to the Muslim League deputation, committed himself without adequate consideration to a policy which was bound to prove embarassing in the long run. Even the short experience we have had of the new Councils, has sufficiently shown that these special Mahomedan electorates do not and will not invariably return men who are pledged to oppose their Hindu colleagues, and, so far, the criticism that Government were actuated by a desire to "divide and rule" in introducing these special Mahomedan electorates, has not received the support of experience. Our Mahomedan friends, too, have perhaps found that special electorates have not brought in the millennium as some of them fondly expected them to do. But that the gift has been the means of considerable embarrassment to Government, is evident from the fact that his Excellency felt it necessary to explain, in his recent Simla speech, the limits beyond which he had not contemplated the extension of the special electorate principle. This is exactly what many Muslim Leaguers have not understood and will probably never understand. For our own part, having given our support for the principle of the representation of minorities by special electorates, within rea-

sonable limits, we have neither rejoiced nor mourned at the adoption of special Mahomedan electorates, though we certainly think that if the principle of minority representation is accepted, it should be extended to all minorities, to non-Mahomedan minorities as well as to Mahomedan minorities. The franchise, too, is in several places more liberal for Mahomedans than for others, and this, again, is a matter which demands the attention of Government. Let the Mahomedans elect their members in whatever way they like, but let them be not treated as being in any way superior to or different from other minorities.

These, however, are details which will be adjusted in time, and which do not touch the solid merits of the great act of statesmanship with which Lord Minto's name will always be associated. The appointment of Indians as members of the Executive Councils of the Government of India and of the provincial Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, is in some respects an even more important reform than the expansion of the Legislative Councils. And it is well-known that this great step towards, to use Lord Minto's own words, "the literal fulfilment of hopes held out in Queen Victoria's proclamation," was almost entirely the outcome of the personal convictions and prestige of the Viceroy. The enlarged Legislative Councils are now recognised as inevitable, even by those who opposed the reforms in the beginning. But there are still not a few British publicists in England as well as in India, who are not able to preserve their equanimity with reference to the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils. It is this act of Lord Minto's administration, which more than any others, convinced the "better mind" of India that its traditional faith in British rule and in British promises was not misplaced. The princesand people of India regard the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 as something sacred and inviolable. Certain references to that document by Lord Curzon had been widely construed as implying an intention to treat it as a pious outburst on the part of an emotional woman rather than as the solemn promises of a great sovereign. If there was one cause more than another which contributed to the general unrest which Lord Minto found existing on his arrival in this country, it was these flippant attempts to make light of the plighted word of a monarch, held in the profoundest veneration by all classes and creeds of the Indian people. By associating Indians with the actual governing body of the Empire, Lord Minto gave unmistakable proof of his loyal

adherence to the Magna Charta of Indians, and restored, as by a touch, their confidence in the intentions and in the integrity of British rule. It is to be hoped that the lesson will not be lost on his Excellency's successors.

The Legislative Councils of India have undergone expansion before, but there are certain features of their present enlargement which mark a distinct stage in Indian political evolution. The direct recognition of the elective principle, the right to move resolutions and to divide on the Budget, the right to put supplementary questions, are the chief of these. From first to last Lord Minto has never once wavered in his opinion that the legitimate political aspirations of the educated classes must be satisfied. The political assassinations that have brought discredit on the country, led some people to question the wisdom of proceeding with the reforms. But Lord Minto never for a moment wavered in his resolve. That his Excellency's action is appreciated by the country, is evident from the fact that—nothwithstanding a series of repressive measures aimed at the press and the freedom of public meetings, which a large body of Indian opinions regards and resents as involving wider and more indiscriminiate interference with the liberty of the subject than the circumstances justify, and which is without parallel in the history of British India—from end to end of the continent to-day, there is but one feeling as to the impending departure of his Excellency. That feeling has found abundant expression and will, in the next few weeks, be made even more visibly manifest. That feeling is that Lord Minto's place is among the great Viceroys whose names are remembered with gratitude and affection as benefactors and friends—Bentinck, Canning and Ripon. We may say without the least exaggeration that the hour called for a statesman of great gifts of character and sagacity and that Lord Minto has fully proved himself to be such a statesman. His services to India and the Empire can be fully estimated only if we could imagine what would have happened if in his place we have had a Viceroy less endowed with the virtues of insight, sympathy and self-effacement. Such a contingency makes one's flesh creep even in the mere contemplation.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

N. B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Keivew.* Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—Ed.

The Practice of Vaccination, by Mr. S. K. Chowdhri.

IT is too late now after the practice of vaccination has stood the test of a century—many eenturies, in fact, if the primitive method of vaccination prevalent in some parts of India be taken into consideration —to cry down this effective method of preventing small-pox. Notwithstanding the opposition by a small section of people in European countries vaccination has flourished successfully in those parts, and it is to be hoped that in India also despite the preachings on "hygienic knowledge" its cause will not suffer materially. Epidemics of small-pox have become very rare indeed in Europe, thanks to vaccination, and it is generally admitted that they are not nearly as frequent in this country as they were before the systematic practice of vaccination was introduced here.

Nothing is easier for a layman than to sit in judgment over the doings of members of the profession whose sole business it is to study the sciences concerning human diseases with a view ultimately to alleviate the sufferings of mankind. He perhaps thinks that because he has been subject to some diseases himself, or has seen certain others in his friends, or more than that, he has watched how medical men treated them, he knows all about the theory and practice of medicine, surgery and allied sciences. He is not merely content with this knowledge, he thinks he is competent enough to advise in matters medical. It is not a matter for surprise that sometimes, if he possesses tact, he gathers around himself an admiring clientele among whom he begins to practise. It will be a bad day for him when the act of medical registration is passed in India. It is rather amusing to see that capital has been made of Jenner being "unqualified" in a country where no more value is attached to qualification than non-qualification in European countries, and where cheap reputation acquired in curing diseases somehow becomes an important asset. It is common enough to find such self-styled physicians earning more money by deceiving a foolish public. But that is another story.

The writer of the "Explored fad" would not have burst out in the way he has done had he had occasion to visit a bacteriological laboratory and see what is done there—I would strongly advise him to study an elementary work on bacteriology, preferably under the guidance of a medical friend,—if he had one!!—and to accompany him to the laboratory in order to obtain first hand knowledge. I can assure him that the knowledge thus gained will be less nebulous than that which he at present possesses about zymotic diseases. In the laboratory he will see a strenuous band of workers busy with the microscope, incubator and many other appliances, engaged in adding every day to the store of professional knowledge,—not emipirical, but rational,—and thus contributing to the amelioration of suffering humanity. If he is anxious to learn before rushing into print with his crude and unassimilated ideas, he will know better than that syphilis, tuberculosis and cancer are mutable one into another by force of natural law. The "Universal divine law" that he talks of is not the monopoly of a few

individuals, and it is not wise to hint that the majority of medical men,—and almost all of them honestly believe in vaccination—are a force employed to counteract one of the blessings conferred by God on mankind.

No body disputes the proposition that insanitary conditions are not conducive to health and that they always have an enfeebling, devitalising effect on the body. This prepares the way for the invading bacteria, and when the vitality is lowered there onset cannot be resisted successfully. To fail to understand this simple truth and make vaccination responsible for originating all diseases can only be the result of prejudical judgment.

Now a word or two about the much maligned calf lymph. Now-a-days the glycerinated calf lymph is used more extensively in India than hithertofore, in preference to other varieties of the virus. It can be produced absolutely free from the various streftococcei and staphylococei, *i. e.*, varieties of bacteria which are usually to be found in the untreated calf lymph. In like manner the germ of erysipelas if it was originally present in the lymph material is rapidly killed out by the germicidal action of the glycerine The tubercle bacillus is eventually destroyed by glycerine even when large quantities of virulent cultures have been purposely added to the lymph. The possibility of inoculation of syphilis is eliminated as the calf is not subject to this disease. When the glycerinated calf lymph is not employed, every possible care is taken in vaccinating from arm to arm or direct from the calf that the subjects from which the virus is taken are healthy.

I will conclude by referring to the attitude taken by the Anti-vaccinist writer towards the medical profession. It is the only profession which alleviates physical suffering and does it at a poor recompense ; it is for this profession alone to promote the cause of preventive medicine while fully aware of the contingency—not a very remote and bright one –that with the progress of this branch of medicine men and women will be healthier, and they will pay the less for the services of medical men. Those people in whom gratitude is not a strong point often forget that they have been benefited by members of the profession at some period or other of their lives, cr will be benefited when afflicted with infirmity and disease.

Journalism as a Profession in India, by Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar, B. L.

I would say a word or two about some of the moral qualifications for a Journalist. I would put them, as Mr. Karunakara Menon has not referred to them very much, probably because he possesses most of them himself. I think journalism is a profession beset with temptations, nearly as much best with temptations as the profession of law. If a person succeeds at all as a journalist, he becomes a source of power and influence in Society. Then he might be able to blast a man's reputation and he would be able to puff many up. Temptation to corruption is very strong among journalists. There are many Native States who wish to have a good name from the British Government. There are officials who wish to be thought well by their superiors. There are people who wish to be distinguished as public men. All these like very much to be in the

good grace of the Editors. There are very few Dewans or high officials in Native States that do not like that their work should be published to society and this is a source of great temptation to obtain subsidies from Native States or from high officials, temptation to dishonesty, not to speak out what has been spoken but, what should not be said. That temptation is very great and it is very essential there should be high traditions maintained by journalists but unfortunately, no settled traditions are as yet maintained. The character of journalists must be maintained at a very high level, if journalism is to be of any use at all.

Then another great thing required of the person wishing to enter the journalistic profession is that he should resolve not to pander to low tastes. Copies are multiplied by writing what is sensational, by abuse. Praise people do not care for. The lower part of human nature is more easily roused than his better and higher nature. And I believe I am not exaggerating at all if I say that there are very few journalists who do not yield sometimes to the temptations of gab. I cannot cease to be surprised that newspapers should publish reports of divorce cases. What is the good, what is the object in publishing that A sued B for a divorce, because he committed something wrong with somebody else. There is no use. And then you have telegrams of suicides. I am not speaking of this country only. That is a temptation to which newspapers are subject. Then again there is another temptation to get hold of new news and to publish it as early as possible. There are occasions which every journalist must recognise when some news ought not to be published A journalist may be the first one to get hold of a piece of news. But it may be his stern duty as a member of the public., as part of the duty he owes to his fellow-countymen and to the Government, not to yield to the temptation of publishing. I remember Mr. Stead in the *Review of Reviews* speaking as one of the greatest journalists in the world, recounting a story that a matter which would have set the whole of Europe in conflagration and brought two countries to war leaked out and his temptation for publishing was great, but he sat upon it and resolved to publish only certain of the events that had taken place. That is another kind of temptation that an editor has to resist.

I wish to make a remark or two with respect to the duties of journalists, in this country especially. It has been one of the chief functions of journalism to criticise Government. It criticises public men. It is the appropriate function of journalism to uphold the right thing and to attack anything wrong in the measures of Government. It is a legitimate function both of journalists and of all others. While that is certainly a part of their duty, journalists in this country have to remember one thing—that a large section of the people are not educated and the Government itself is a foreign Government. That being so, people are apt to misunderstand the motives of Government very easily. The natural suspicion that the subjects have of Government is enhanced when that Government is a foreign Government. In a country like ours it is the most important duty of journalists to act as true interpreters between the rulers and the ruled and to expose any misdeeds on the part of Government. It is also their duty to make the people understand what the Government is doing and not merely to criticise. It is therefore his duty while unflinchingly exposing anything wrong, while attacking anything wrong

that is done by Government, equally not to attack the motives of Government. The Government may err. If we were in the place of those officers, perhaps we might equally err. I do not think that journalists should forget that it is their duty, while telling Government and the people that something is objectionable —all the same the Government errs—not to attribute bad motives to Government. That is a thing to be remembered. In every writing ordinarily devoted to criticism the critical spirit is developed and that critical spirit is employed not merely in exposing what is wrong but in finding out motives. It should not be employed for that purpose. Every profession produces its own narrowness and journalism does too. Its narrowness consists in looking at things from one point of view, from the point of what is objectionable in what Government does. That is a point which journalism has to bear in mind.

That leads me to another question, which I have often asked myself and I have never been able to satisfactorily answer—whether a journalist should express his own opinion only when he is writing on public matters or he should express public opinion. It is a difficult question. Of course it is not easy for me to express what is public opinion. Of course the same opinion would not be entertained by all the members of the public on a certain matter. It is not easy to say then what the public opinion is on any question. But is it right on the other hand to say that it is enough for the journalist to express his own opinion. Is that the standard that may well be taken to represent public opinion? If it is, then is it not the editor's duty to remember that although it is impossible for a journal to take the entire public opinion, yet at the same time it ought to reflect the best public opinion possible by enquiry and on the information based on the opinions expressed in the columns of different well-conducted journals. Heavy is the responsibility, in my opinion, that lies on Indian journalists; because they must remember that what they say would be taken by the Government to be the opinion of the public. I do not wish to conceal my opinion that there is a great divorce between public opinion and journalistic opinion now. Those who read any newspapers, are of aré a limited number. Simply because a journal happens to express some opinion, and people unfortunately do not think it necessary that they ought to some extent to write to these to correct it and many members have not got the time to do so and others have not got the habit of writing so as to expose them, all the same, that does not diminish the duty of a journalist. They should remember they have to reflect the best public opinion. Public opinion may differ. There may be two different opinions on a subject. But even taking the paper to rerepresent one section, it still has to represent the opinion of that section and not the opinion of that editor alone. That I think is not remembered as well as it ought to be.

Then again, journalists when they mount the editorial chair, think they are the monarchs of all they survey. Nothing is beneath their notice, nothing is too high for them. If any body complains of an article, they think that public men ought to be thick-skinned. Do they examine whether they express themselves quite properly? They should remember that others have their feelings. Criticisms should be fair and expressed in fair language.

In conclusion, I say that the work of a journalist is one of the noblest works. To him is given an opportunity to educate, to protest against wrong-

doings, to guard the weak, to expose the oppressor and to take the right side of public questions. On the whole, journalism in this country has progressed very well. Only in some parts of India, wreckless and disloyal writings were found, bringing in its train a great deal of mischief. Such bad writings must be exposed by other journals. Vernacular journals also should be conducted by thoroughly trained Journalists because it is through them the masses should be educated in politics, agriculture, industry, etc.

Deewan Bahadur Karunakara Menon's able and thoughtful paper on journalism as a profession for young Indians deals solely with that section of the Press which is represented by the newspapers conducted by Indians in the English language. Indo-English daily newspapers have most of them come into existence during the last twenty-five years. The *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta, which celebrated its golden jubilee last month, was the only daily newspaper of this class up to about twenty years ago. The *Hindu* of Madras became a daily about that time, then came the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Bengali* in Calcutta, the *Madras Standard* and the *Indian Patriot* in Madras, the *Tribune* of Lahore, the *Leader* of Allahabad, and the *Indu* of Bombay. These ten are the only daily papers conducted in English, and almost all of them, it may be noted, began as weeklies. Mr. Menon said that political needs originated journalism in India. This is not altogether correct, because the *Indian Mirror*, among the Indo-English, and many of the earliest vernacular journals in Bengal and Bombay were started as organs of religious and social reform. Mr. Menon gives us an interesting glimpse into the origin of Indian journalism. But things have changed very much since then. Mr. Menon sums up the present position as being that the few journals that exist do not always get competent editors; and if men train themselves to journalism, there is no guarantee of suitable employment. The danger that is mentioned is real, but it has not so far been experienced to any considerable extent owing to the fact that most of the important Indian papers are practically owned by those who edit them. It is only recently that two or three newspapers have attempted the experiment of being conducted on the lines of joint stock companies, and their experience cannot be held to indicate any conclusive results one way or another.

The paucity of newspapers would not of itself be sufficient to explain the dearth of competent journalists had there been other walks of life open to the latter. It-has been a common practice for schoolmasters or lawyers to devote their spare hours to editing newspapers, but, as Mr. Menon points out, no man can become a great lawyer unless he devotes himself entirely to his profession, and as for the schoolmaster, no human being can do justice to either of the avocations if he undertakes the widely divergent but equally taxing duties of teaching daily in a school and editing a daily newspaper. The journalist is in closest contact with public life, but not many, as Mr. Menon says can earn a living in public life. The attractions of journalism in England are wholly unconnected with the possibilities of becoming a Cabinet Minister or a pro-consul. The cases of Lords Morley and Milner are, after all, exceptional, and the position of the editor of a great newspaper is by no means inferior to that of a Cabinet Minister. We recognise that there are exceptional difficulties

which Indian journalism has to overcome before it rises to the status of an independent profession, but we also think that the work of overcoming them will become lighter if the conductors of newspapers possess some previous training in organisation and business capacity. Mr. Menon, we think, has devoted exclusive attention to the literary side of a newspaper, which, of course, is its most important side. But, after all, a daily newspaper, with its necessary adjuncts of a large printing press and its accessories is a big business concern and cannot be successfully managed without some training in business methods. We are glad to note considerable improvement even in this respect in some of the Indian newspapers within the last few years. Daily newspapers cannot be run on missionary lines for any length of time, and the sooner they are placed on a business footing the greater will be their possibilities of usefulness and permanence Mr. Menon makes an excellent suggestion when he recommends young men who intend becoming journalists to get a couple of years' training in practical journalism in London, or on one of the great provincial English newspapers.

There are several young Indians who are anxious to enter journalism. It is a laudable ambition. Mr. Menon gives some very useful hints as to how they might best qualify themselves to become successful journalists. There is no profession which makes such a constant demand on a man's capacity as journalism. " A man who has not a very high standard of capacity in him," says Mr. Menon, " or does not possess the required aptitude, will do far better in some other sphere than journalism." The joy of seeing one's handiwork in print does not long survive the experience of so seeing it day after day and week after week. A high sense of duty, a balanced enthusiasm and a steady purpose are needed to carry the journalist through the daily worries which Mr. Menon has so vividly described The narrow limits which time imposes on the measure of deliberation possible to daily journalism make it all important that the journalist should have a settled point of view and a habitually sane outlook on human affairs. Mr. Menon laid stress on the absence of professional rules of etiquette in Indian journalism, and insisted on the need of every journalist setting before himself a high standard of conduct. He rightly says that the great improvement in the standards of Indian journalism has been brought about by the force of individual example. Mr. Menon's address shows that the best type of Indian journalism is actuated by ideals as lofty as the journalism of any country in the world.—the *Times of India.*

Mrs. Besant's University.

For sometime past Mrs. Annie Besant has been planning to establish a university in India which should owe its foundation to private and voluntary effort and should draw together colleges in which religion and morals form part of the curriculum. This university, as appears from her article in the July *Hindustan Review*, will have a field of activity of a distinctive character from the existing universities and possess special features of its own. The most marked speciality of the proposed university will lie in the fact that it will affiliate no colleges in which religion and morality do not form an integral part of the education given. The second important speciality will be the placing in the first rank of Indian philosophy, history and literature, and

seeking in these, and in the classical languages of India, the chief means of culture. The third important speciality will be the paying of special attention to manual and technical training, to science applied to agriculture and manufactures, and to Indian arts and crafts, so as to revive these now-decaying industries. The question naturally arises whether there is any need for this proposed university. Our answer is distinctly in the negative. The very fact that this university is to be under the auspices of the Theosophical Society must give rise to a suspicion. The methods employed by this society are the very opposite of what can be called rational and critical. Its teachings are a mixture of savage superstition and high-sounding scholastic gibberish. The essential aim of a university is the increase of knowledge and the training of young men for this work. Neither the teaching of religion nor the inculcation of morality comes within the scope of a university. It may be noticed that all modern universities have nothing to do with the teaching of religion or morality, although they may have chairs for the critical study of theology and the moral sciences. With the spread of civilization the number of universities increases, but the religious spirit declines, because the strength of character needed to make civilization possible arises from other sources than religion. No university can think of placing any philosophy in the first rank. Its aim being the discovery of truth, it cannot patronise any particular system. Manual and technical training can be given even by the existing universities. What we want in India at present is one grand university of the German type ; a teaching university, thoroughly equipped, up-to-date in all departments, where the best Indian intellect is brought to a focus to train young Indians, not only to become good citizens and patriots, a thing that can be done by the ordinary school and college, but also to make them capable of carrying out original investigation in the several departments of life so as to enrich the country and elevate it in the scale of nations.—The *Educational Review.*

Mrs. Besant writing in the current number of the *Theosophist* says:—The *Paisa Akhbar*, in commenting on my scheme for an Indian University, says that there is nothing in the scheme to which exception can be taken, and therefore it has won the support of men of light and leading belonging to different creeds and nationalities. But if the Charter be granted, it opines, then the pretended Indian University would throw off its borrowed colors, and become a Hindu University. But does the *Paisa Akhbar* know that it would have been far easier for me to obtain a Charter for a Hindu University than for one which is to be undenominational but religious ? It should have had much warmer support from Hindus ; some of the leading Musalmans would have gladly signed a petition for a Charter for a Hindu University—I have letters stating this—but refused to sign one for an undenominational one ; the Anglo-Indian Press has said that it would be easy for me to have the Central Hindu College raised to University rank. If a man deceitfully sails under false colors, he surely does not choose those which would put him at a disadvantage. I deliberately chose the harder task, because I believe that denominational Colleges, or hostels are needed at present, but that an undenominational University might act as a unifying force, so that men, professing different faiths, might have a common Alma Mater, and so feel a bond of union. It may be that India is not yet ripe for this high ideal ; if so, I shall fail, and some one

else can take up the easier task of making Hindu, Musalman and Christian Universities. In the future, if not now, my ideal will be realised by some one more capable and more powerful than myself and to us, who work for the future in the power of an unending life, immediate success or failure counts but little.

As we are going to press, I hear that the petition to H. M. the King-Emperor for a Royal Charter for the University of India has been forwarded by H. E. the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, and it now remains on 'the knees of Gods,' to be granted or not, as is best for the great work. I am profoundly grateful to the Viceroy that he has been good enough to forward it, and for the sympathy with its object that he has expressed.

A Common Indian Language.

In the September number of the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra, the well-known ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court, examines the problem of a common Indian language. For a long time Mr. Mitra has been taking a great deal of interest in this question and has frequently written in the *Hindustan Review* and other periodicals urging the advantages and the possibilities of a common Indian script. He has also founded the *Eka lipi vistar samiti* or the society for the promotion of a uniform script, which has done a considerable amount of useful work in this direction. In the present article Mr. Mitra observes that a uniform script and a common language for the Indian people are dreams, but not unfrequently are even dreams realised. At any rate, they are possibilities, not mere chimeras. The adoption of a common language for literary and scientific purposes in the different provinces of this vast Peninsula, including Ceylon, in place of Bengali, Hindi, Mahrathi, Guzerati, Sindi, Telegu, Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese and numerous other dialects, which have literatures of their own, is undoubtedly an enchanting idea. He observes that in archaic India, Sanskrit with the Vedas, *Puranas* and philosophies, its sublime epics and beautiful dramas was the common language of the literate and the cultured. The English language is striving to take the place which Sanskrit had occupied centuries ago ; but modern India cannot either go back to Sanskrit or adopt a language unsuited to its spirit or genius. The English may be the language of a few for certain limited purposes, but a common language for the people is still a great desideratum. Such a language, Mr. Mitra observes, would have a glorious future and would shine far more brilliantly than any of the languages of enlightened Europe. With the sweet and flexible Sanskrit as its base, a common Indian language capable of easy comprehension, easy utterance and easy composition by the millions of India cannot but have a literature soaring far above the literatures of all the other languages. But narrowness of mind giving birth to a love of individual and provincial dialects, says Mr. Mitra, stands in the way.

We are afraid that Mr. Mitra underrates the difficulties in the way of the establishment of a common language for the whole of India. The idea is no doubt fascinating, but the practical difficulties appear in our opinion to be almost insuperable. It is, however, encouraging that the prospects of a common Indian language should be discussed. Even if it be a dream, it is a dream that ennobles the dreamer, and even an academic discussion of the subject

cannot but open our eyes to the forces and potentialities making for national unity. Mr. Mitra points out that the dialects of the different provinces of India, at least of Northern and Western India, do not materially differ from one another. They have, indeed, a semblance of difference, but an adoption of common script will reveal the essential points of similarity. The differences between the different dialects of Northern and Western India are not greater than those of Scotland and England, and put in a common script, the differences are not such as to prevent their being understood by any one who knows Sanskrit. Mr. Mitra takes up some specific instances and by a comparison of Guzerati, Marathi, Bengali and Hindi pieces brings home their essential similarity and common vocabulary. He also takes up a well-known hymn of Guru Nanak and points out its great similarity with the other dialects of Northern and Western India. He traces a similar common vocabulary between the Uriya and other Sanskritic languages, and between the Bengali of Babu Robindranath Tagore and Hindi. Mr. Mitra recognises that in common parlance, people have dialectic variations according to the class or locality they happen to belong to or inhabit. But he says that a comparison of the different dialects of Northern, Western and Eastern India leads to the unmistakable conclusion that they are in essence the same. The use of English by the English-knowing Indians as a means of inter-communication, he says, is a bar to nature and the sooner the bar is removed, the better for the Indian people.—The *Tribune*.

The evidence of unifying process in India can be sought in numberless directions, and its effects are by no means such as to justify pessimism. A significant sign of this unification we see in the movement for the promotion of a uniform script for the Indian people. Our distinguished countryman, Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter, in a lucid article in the September *Hindustan Review* referring to this movement says that a uniform script and a common language for the Indian people are dreams, but adds, 'not unfrequently dreams are realised.' It may suit the purpose of party politicians to say that India has never been one country and that it never had one people. But it is historically true that it had a common language in Sanskrit, for the literate and the educated class. English now strives to take the place held by Sanskrit of yore. Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter puts the case forcibly. 'Modern India,' he says, 'cannot either go back to Sanscrit or adopt a language unsuited to its spirit and genius. English may be the language of a few for certain limited purposes, but a common language for the people is a necessity." Mr. Mitter elaborately examines this question of a common script and endavours to demonstrate the feasibility thereof. The people are the same and the idioms and peculiarities of style are fairly common. That being so, 'the interest of literature requires, the unification of the nation demands, that the literary language should become one and the same.' That is the conclusion at which Mr. Sarada Charan arrives, and it is a conclusion which all of us would do well to ponder over.—The *Bengalee*.

Lord Curzon's Chronicler.

Lord Curzon has at last found a historian to chronicle his achievements and must be congratulated on his good luck. For long he could not entrust the duty to any one of his admirers, not even to Sir Thomas Raleigh, who edited

his speeches, lest the dazzling effulgence of his personality might blind his vision. So he chose to be his own chronicler. One has to look at his Budget speeches, formidable as they are in length, to see how well he boomed his own doings. But now he has secured a chronicler, strangely enough, not in the ranks of the Jingo Imperialistic Press but in an American journalist. Mr. George Harvey of the *North American Review* writes in the September number of the *Hindustan Review* a glowing panegyric on Lord Curzon's work in India. Mr. Harvey is apparently a hero-worshipper and perhaps may not mind the taunt of Boswellism. But he does not possess that intimate knowledge which Boswell possessed of the uncrowned King of English literature of the 18th century and hence much of what he writes is marred by imperfect knowledge and inadequate information. We find, however, that he concludes his brilliant tribute as follows :—

> Nothing can detract from the enduring merit of what Lord Curzon actually accomplished. He understood, he dared, he achieved, and he will stand out in history as one of the bravest, the sanest of Viceroys.

All this may or may not be true. But there can be no doubt that he left a legacy of trouble for his successors which is not likely to inspire them with admiration for his greatness.

Elsewhere we publish a summary of the second of two articles which Lord Curzon has written to the *North American Review* on British Rule in India. It is a poor contribution, and if at all attention is drawn to it, it is not because of its intrinsic value but because of the position which the author once occupied in India. It need hardly be said that the ex-Viceroy is a pronounced re-actionary and his present contribution is conceived in an entirely re-actionary spirit. It shows a certain amount of verbal legerdemain, of which Lord Curzon is a past master, and an evident anxiety to gloss over facts which militate against the conclusion he has in view. The article reveals the man and no body who reads it will subscribe to all that the Editor of the *North American Review* says about the author in the September number of the *Hindustan Review*. We are told by this writer that Lord Curzon was "one of the bravest, the sanest of Viceroys." His bravery consisted in systematically going against the current of public opinion and his sanity in arousing bitter opposition to almost all his administrative measures. Of course, Lord Curzon was in a sense an active Viceroy and Lord Morley was correct when he spoke of his "unsparing and remorseless activity." But that is all that could be said of the man ; and the present article proves that further experience has not widened his outlook.

The late Mr. Sanjiva Row's Legal Publications.

Mr. T. A. Venkaswamy Row, proprietor of the Law Printing House (Mount Road, Madras), has sent us the following communication :—

Though the loss of my uncle, the late Mr. T. V. Sanjiva Row, is irreparable, it is, however, a matter for consolation that he has left behind him a number of capable professional gentlemen, who were all his co-workers and were personally selected by him for their ability and were carefully trained by him, and in whom, as I know, he had the greatest confidence. Their zeal in, and devotion to, the service of the legal profession are no less than what they were in the

case of their late lamented leader. It was with their valuable assistance that my uncle had been conducting the Lawyer's Companion Office at Trichinopoly and at Madras, and issuing his numerous publictions with such remarkable success for the last ten years. He has also left behind him a large quantity of manuscript matter personally supervised by him, which have now to be seen through the press, with the addition of such new matter and with such changes as may be found necessary.

It may not be out of place here to say a few words about myself. I have been, for the last ten years, specially trained by my late uncle in the management and conduct of his concerns. The Law Printing House was started soon after I finished the Arts course in the Presidency College, Madras, when I was called upon by my uncle to take us its control and management. That Press, as the public are probably aware, was brought into existence by Mr. T. V Sanjiva Row, with the main object of printing his own publications neatly and promptly In obedience to his last wishes, I have made a solemn determination to continue his publications, and I hereby beg to assure the public that, with the matter on hand and with the co-operation of the gentlemen above referred to, every one of the publications started by my uncle or promised by him, will be faithfully continued, and that nothing will be wanting on my part and no pains spared to ensure the prompt, systematic and regular issue of the various publications to the learned subscribers all over the country.

The profession is already aware that the *Lawyer's Companion Series*, Civil and Criminal, have almost run out their course, and that only a very small number of parts have now to be issued to complete that series. Similarly, the *Lawyer's Reference* has been three-fourths completed and the rest of it will soon reach completion. Every effort will be made to push on the publications with rapidity and to complete them within about 9 or 10 months, because it has been my uncle's "cherished desire that the learned subscribers to my publications should, at all events, be placed in possession of *completed series* of my humble works." I, therefore, hereafter hold myself responsible to the public for the regular issue of the several publications started by my late uncle, and the public may rest assured that the distinguishing merit and quality of his publications will be throughout strictly and rigidly maintained.

Under these circumstances, I earnestly hope that my uncle's learned constituents in every part of the country will be pleased to continue that partronage which they have been so kindly bestowing upon him and his work. The business will henceforth be carried on in my name and all future communications should be addressed to me.

The Hindustan Review.

The *Hindustan Review*, an ably-conducted monthly, is a leading organ of Indian public opinion, and appeals strongly to all who are interested in our Indian Empire. It is edited with remarkable ability by the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha, Barrister-at-law. A distinctive feature of the Review is a literary supplement of over forty pages.—The *Epicure*. (London.)

The *Hindustan Review* for September is an exceedingly interesting number. Amongst its principal contents are noteworthy contributions; that by Mr. Hari Charan Biswas on "Job Charnock's Hindu Wife: A Rescued Sati," will be read with interest by members of the Calcutta Historical Society and others who

like to know how history and legend get blended together in these old world affairs. The number is altogether a good one.—*Capital.*

The *Hindustan Review* is excellently printed. It is cheap at the price and full of interesting matter.—The *Near East.*

The *Hindustan Review* for September is very interesting and keeps up a high level of excellence The Literary Supplement is a valuable feature of the Review.—The *Hindu.*

The September number of the *Hindustan Review* is, as usual, full of interesting and readable matter. Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra leads off with an article on his favourite theme, *i. e*, a common language for India—which has already been referred to in these columns Mr. Kanwar Sain, M. A., Bar-at-Law, of Rawalpindi, contributes the second instalment of his interesting article on the influence of European science on Indian thought The writer says that all that is grand and noble and poetical in Astronomy was already here in India, and beyond attaining the mathematical accuracy and instrumental range and precision, India has received but little inspiration from Western astronomy. But in Geology, Biology, we have learnt much that is new and striking from the West. He points out, however, that the doctrine of evolution, at least the idea of it, is as old as our Gautama Buddha, who seems to have not only realised this principle in all its aspects but also preached the moral application of it throughout the length and breadth of India. He fears that the effect of the studies of Physical and Biological sciences is distinctly materialistic, and that the inductive method of study coupled with the discoveries made by modern science has in Europe diffused a spirit of scepticism, and there is a danger of the contagion spreading here, unless counteracted by stronger forces. This stronger force is there in the teachings of our *Upanishads* and other sacred books, and India has through them held fast to its monistic faith. Mr. Polak contributes an article on India and the Transvaal in which he discusses with his usual knowledge and moderation as to how the Union of South Africa will affect the condition of the Indians there. The other articles include an excellent character sketch of our Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, by Mr. J. C. Mukerjee, an article by Saint Nihal Singh on American trusts, which the writer characterises as the foulest cess-pool on the face of the globe, a philosophical dissertation on the relations of morality and religion by Mr. Radha Krishan, M. A. The "Topics of the Day" by the Editor contains, as usual, a review of the political situation in the country.—The *Tribune.*

The *Hindustan Review* for September is a full and interesting number containing over a dozen contributions from many well-known writers to Indian periodicals. Amongst these is a judicious appreciation of Lord Curzon's work in India by Mr. G. Harvey, Editor of the *North American Review.* In another column will be found extracts from another interesting article on "Job Charnock's Hindu Wife. A Rescued Sati," by Mr. Hari Charan Biswas.—The *Madras Mail.*

Apropos of the fresh interest aroused in the Indian question in South Africa, Mr. Henry Polak writes hopefully of the outlook in the September number of the *Hindustan Review.* He notes that General Smut's last effort to break down the agitation before the inauguration of the Union, was unsuccessful, and he considers that India's greatest safeguard lies in the existence of a large class

in South Africa who detest the Transvaal's Asiatic policy and are moved by Imperial considerations. It is to this section that the India Office and Lord Crewe must appeal and, we hope, successfully. Among other contributions of more than passing interest in this number are " Lord Curzon's Work in India: An Appreciation," by Mr. George Harvey, " The Relation of Morality and Religion," by Mr. S. Radhakrishna, and a character sketch of Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee, by Mr. J. C. Mukerjee.—The *Indian Daily Telegraph*.

The September number of the *Hindustan Review* opens with a learned contribution on "A common language for India" by Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter. Mr. Kanwar Sain, Bar-at-Law, writes an instructive paper on "the influence of European science on Indian thought." "Ancient India's commercial relations" is the heading of a very readable contribution from Jogendranath Samaddar. Among other articles of interest are Mr. Polak's "India and the Transvaal," "Lord Curzon's Work in India," an American appreciation. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh has a very interesting account on "As an Indian sees America—American trusts or object lesson in honesty." The Literary supplement brings a highly valuable number to a close.—The *Indian Patriot*.

The September issue of the *Hindustan Review*, is, as usual, full of interest. Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra, at one time Judge of the Calcutta High Court, leads off with a paper on the problem of a Common Indian language, but we cannot say he appears to us to have got any nearer to a solution of this complicated puzzle. His conclusion or his main conclusion is "that the use of the English by the English-knowing Indians as a means of inter-communication is a bar to nature and the sooner that bar is removed the better for the Indian people.' An utterance of this kind reveals how hopelessly a theory may ignore the facts of every day life. Language is an intellectual growth depending on influences far too subtle to be moulded into an arbitrary form or expression by anybody. It is perfectly certain that if the whole world were of one language and one speech to-morrow, that language would eventually disintegrate as it did at the building of Babel. It is certain that some languages offer special facilities for becoming a *lingua franca* as French, for instance, on the Continent, Hindustani in India, Spanish in South America, and English over a big area of the civilized world. Then, again, we get such a phenomenon as "pidgin English" in the Far East which reveals in a marked degree the eccentricities of articulate expression adopted to a special ethnological environment It would be interesting to know whether the ex-Judge has ever read a book by the Rev. J. Knowles: " Our duty to India and Indian Illiterates: Romanic letters for Indian languages." The subject is germane to his essay, but we see no trace of it therein.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh gives a lurid picture of American commercial and political corruption which we do not think a bit overdrawn Mr. Kanwar Sain treats of the influence of European science on Indian thought, Mr. Polak naturally writes about the Eternal Transvaal question, and Mr. George Harvey writes appreciatively of Lord Curzon's work in India. We do not agree with Mr. Harvey. There is plenty of other good reading in the Review, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's editorial catholicity keeping him free from any narrowness in the selection of the pabulum he serves up for his readers.—The *Morning Post of India*.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator.*)

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view ; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*) .

The Beharee Students' Conference

WE print below the full text of the presidential address delivered by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, at the fifth Beharee Students' Conference, held at Arrah, on the 8th October, 1910 :—

Young Men of Behar ! I am highly sensible of the privilege you have been pleased to confer upon me, by electing me to the presidential chair of this, the fifth session of your Conference, and I assure you I appreciate your high compliment all the more, when I remember that (except in the first session held at Patna in 1906) I have not been able, owing to pressure of other public work, to take an active part in your deliberations during the last three sessions. But though I had to deny myself this pleasure, I need hardly tell you that I have none the less been keenly and sympathetically following your proceedings and have felt highly gratified at the success which has accrued to your youthful but earnest endeavours. My reluctance, however, to comply with your request on the present occasion, to preside over your Conference, was due not to any want of sympathy with your movement—he would be no true Beharee who did not sympathise with so hopeful and progressive an organisation as yours—but to two other causes, to which I shall briefly refer, though they are both more or less of a personal character. One was, you will believe me, a sense of diffidence, arising from the fact that the public activities in which I have hitherto borne my humble share, have not been directly connected with your community. I therefore felt that I was not likely to maintain the high traditions associated with the presidential chair of this Conference, owing to my predecessors having been men of such distinction, talents and culture as the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sharfuddin, the Hon'ble Mr. Deep Narain Singh and Messrs. Parmeshwar Lal and Sayed Hasan Imam, the last—my immediate predecessor—one of the most virile forces in our public affairs, and the brilliant and remarkable address delivered by whom last year was deservedly eulogized by the press of the country. But apart from the sense of diffidence due to these considerations, it seems to me that it is not to your advantage that you should have hitherto chosen all your presidents from exclusively one and only one class of the community—the members of the English Bar. Surely, there are other important classes in the province from amongst whom you may have

chosen your president this year, and if I may be allowed to specify one particular class above others which, in my opinion, can furnish a Conference like yours most eligible presidents, it is the members of the Educational Services and those who are directly connected with the education of our youngmen. And in choosing your presidents in future from amongst educationists and experts, I shall suggest to you the desirability of casting your net rather wide, even beyond the confines of your own province of Behar. Who could, for instance, more worthily fill the chair of such a Conference as yours, than my esteemed friend, Mr. G. S. Arundale, of the Central Hindu College, Benares? And you will have no difficulty in finding other Europen and Indian experts in education to preside over your deliberations, if only you will cast about for them. Much, therefore, as I value the compliment paid by you, so far, to my class—the much-abused class of lawyers—and convinced as I am of the advantage of having laymen also to guide your deliberations, as they are likely to bring to their task a freshness of mind which is not always associated with experts, I nevertheless think it my duty to suggest to you, in all earnestness, not to make your presidential chair the happy-hunting ground of members of the long robe—that too of only one section of the fraternity, the members of the English Bar. I hope to see in this respect a new departure in your next year's programme. But for the present your chice having fallen upon myself, I am ready at your call for better or for worse.

The Late Emperor.

Since you met last year, at Gaya, we have all had the dire misfortune of losing our late Gracious Sovereign, our beloved King-Emperor, Edward VII. His sudden demise has plunged the whole British Empire into mourning, but I venture to say that in no other part of the Empire has the loss occasioned by His Majesty's death been so much felt and so genuinely regretted as in our own country. And this is not surprising, for the people of India were always in the thoughts and affections of the late Emperor. I have no doubt your first duty on the present occasion will be to place on record your sense of regret at the grievous loss we have all sustained. Your next duty is to offer your loving allegiance to his successor, King-Emperor George V, whose reign, let us hope, will mark as great an epoch in our annals as did that of his late lamented father by the introduction of the germs of representative principles into our Government. I venture to hope, in connection with this subject, that in the proposed Provincial Memorial to be built in Calcutta in the shape of a Students' Hostel, a wing may be specially reserved for the Beharee students. This, both because it is a keenly-felt want and also because Behar has subscribed most liberally to the Provincial Memorial Fund.

Past Work.

This is the fifth session of your Conference and you may claim to your credit a record of four years' good work. From the first, the unique character of your movement has been recognised on all hands. It was the first—though unfortunately it is yet the only—gathering of the students of a whole province, assembled together, without any distinction of caste and creed, to foster healthy, wholesome and sound ideas amongst youngmen on all questions affecting their well-being and advancement, and to disseminate and popularise them amongst

the student community. Almost all the resolutions you have passed have been such as have unreservedly commended themselves to public men and publicists in all parts of the country. Critics, not always quite friendly to the aspirations of your elders in public matters, have unhesitatingly associated themselves with your propaganda. And one of your resolutions—in which you tried to lay the axe at the root of my much-maligned profession, by dissuading youngmen from joining the Bar- was declared by a leading Indian paper of Calcutta to 'show a true insight into the actualities of our present situation.' Of course, the writer of the above is not a lawyer or he too could have realised the true inwardness of the resolution, though not perhaps as keenly as I do, at the present moment, when I am really face to face with a band of incipient enemies of my profession. I can only hope that a more careful consideration will satisfy you that the legal profession is not, after all, such an evil as to make you contemplate its extinction with equanimity. But I quite agree with you that the over-crowding of the professions and services is one of the growing evils, and you have certainly done well in raising your voice against it and in favour of a fairer distribution of the indigenous talent in other walks of life Similarly, most of the resolutions you have passed hitherto, have commanded themselves to all sane and sober critics of public affairs, even amongst the ranks of Anglo-Indian publicists. Thus the *Empire* has declared that 'the Beharee students are settling down to reform themselves and are beginning at the right end', while no less cautious a journal, in expressing approval of Indian activities, than the *Pioneer* has highly complimented you upon your programme and proceedings and summed up its observations in its characteristic vein, by saying that 'if chickens are scarce in Behar, admirable sentiments abound' And yet more than that. Your excellent work has been contrasted to your credit and advantage with that of your brother students of Bengal by some of the most thoughtful journals of the country. The *Indian Mirror* wrote, in noticing the proceedings of your previous session, that 'the students of Behar have set up with a practical programme for the furtherance of progress among them and they have given a lesson in this respect which the students of Bengal may do well to follow.' I shall only add one more testimony, in appreciation of the good work done by your Conference. It is from the *Indian Spectator* of Bombay:—'While some students in Bengal are earning a notoriety for the exuberant display of the animal spirit, their brethren in Behar are setting a commendable example in another direction. That there should be such a remarkable difference between the youngmen of two contiguous provinces is evidently an instructive commentary on the variety of racial characteristics found in India and on the influence of individual leaders on the public opinion around them. Whatever the causes may be, the difference is real and striking The leaders of youngmen in Behar are to be heartily congratulated on the direction which they have given to the thoughts and aspirations of the rising generation in that ancient and sacred province, the very name of which is suggestive of study and serene contemplation.'

THE FUTURE.

All this is certainly very high praise, but my object in drawing your attention to the appreciation of your work in the past is not, I need hardly say, to flatter you but to show that you have evidently begun your work on right lines,

that hitherto you have done very well, and that it is therefore your duty to persevere in the same direction and press forward along the same lines with even greater earnestness and diligence. The good work you have done in the past and which has been so generously appreciated, should not make you vain or inconsiderate enough to think of resting upon your laurels, but that it should rather serve as an incentive to further activities, more strenuous, more far reaching and more comprehensive, than heretofore. I trust the day is yet far distant when you will be thinking of resting on your oars. At the best, you have made but a good start. That is hopeful and encouraging, but you should never lose sight of the fact that you have yet to traverse the whole journey from shore to shore. You will have to ply your oars vigorously and steadily for yet many a day, before you will see land, when you may fairly hope to give a long pull, a strong pull and a pull' altogether and land yourselves on the other side of the shore.

My predecessors in this chair delivered inaugural addresses abounding in instructive observations and reflections on your duties and responsibilities. Much of what they said is of permanent value to you and you will do will to keep in mind and try to act up to what they enjoined on you. If you do that I am sure you will be all the better for it. Apart from the valuable lessons embodied in these addresses, there is fortunately no dearth of good and healthy literature, in English, on the duties and responsibilities of youngmen. It is not necessary to enumerate these books, for many of them must be, more or less familiar, to you. Under these circumstances I would have asked you not to compel me to add anything to the literature already available and for which I keenly realise my own limitations. But I know the tyranny of customs in this land of customs and shall not, therefore, place you in a false position by making to you a request, which I know you are not likely to grant. I shall, therefore, try to place before you, as briefly as I can, a few thoughts on such subjects as are likely to interest you. In doing so, I shall keep in mind, that yours is *not* an educational conference but a students' conference and that things which may appropriately be placed before the former by its president, would not only be quite inapposite here but perhaps uninteresting to you. And yet the functions of the two overlap each other at certain points, and it is obviously impossible to exclude from any address, intended for students, all reference to the educational problems agitating the public mind.

High Education and New Life

You are no doubt aware that the results of University education have, of late, been carefully examined by several competent critics from different standpoints, specially in connection with what has been called the Indian Unrest. Until a few years back, there was almost a consensus of opinion that University education in this country had—inspite of some deficiencies incidental to educational institutions which attempt to meet with the requirements of an eastern people on western lines—on the whole been a success, and that it had brought in its train healthy and beneficial results. You will find a large number of testimonies to that effect from most competent and qualified critics, European and Indian, collected in the late Mr. Syed Mahmud's valuable history of Indian Education. But to come to more recent times, Lord Curzon—who was by no means an out-and-out admirer of our educational system and who tried to reform

it to the best of his lights—speaking as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, at its Convocation held in 1899, made the following admissions:—'When the able officials by whom I am surrounded declare without dissent that there has been a marked upward trend in the honesty, integrity, and capacity of Indian officials, I decline altogether to dissociate cause and effect, and I say that knowledge has not been altogether shamed by her children ' Five years later, the Government of Lord Curzon, issued a resolution on the subject from which I quote a passage:—'It is almost universally admitted that the advance made in the Indian education within the last fifty years has had a marked improvement in the ranks of public servants now chosen from the ranks of educated Indians, as compared with those of the days before schools and universities had commenced to exercise their elevating influence.' Yet one more testimony, on the highest official authority, I may quote from the parliamentary blue-book issued only last year by Lord Morely, called a 'Memorandum on the Results of Indian Administration, during the last fifty years.' It says:—'With the improvement in education . . . . has come a much higher standard of probity and sense of duty, and there has been great improvement in character and attainments in the public service.' These three official testimonies, though dealing principally with the public services manned by Indians, are conclusive on the point that the results of University education have been conducive to the best interests of the country. But apart from its wholesome influence on the Indian officials its effect on the much larger number of educated Indians, who have chosen to work, outside the rank of public services, in other walks of life--in the professions and in trade and commerce--has been even more remarkable. It has brought about that great intellectual ferment which is known to us as the Indian Renaissance, but which our unsympathetic critics call the Indian Unrest. As in the case of the effect of University education on our public services, so here also I shall mainly rely on the hightest official and European testimony. Some years back Lord Morely described it as 'a living movement in the mind of the Indian people for objects which we ourselves have all taught them to think desirable objects.' Sir Macworth Young, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, has spoken of this 'living movement' as follows:—"What is happening in India is a development, not a phase but a new birth, and the proof of it lies in its universal acceptance by all classes of people in that country. The interesting movement is due to a strong desire to emulate the West. 'Why should we lag behind, is the voice of India from Peshawar to Cape Comorin." The Bishop of Lahore has said that 'a new life is coming in birth in India with new thoughts, new standards, new ideals of life and new conceptions of society'. And Bishop Weldon has sketched out the movement in words which, I am sure, will appeal to you: 'One feature is apparent in educated India—there is life where there was stagnation. The spiritual nature of Indian thinkers and writers is absorbed in the prospect of an awakening East, an Indian nation, a free and enlightened people, a deliverance from the nightmare of superstition and the tyranny of caste. Before now a note of helplessness and despair ran through the thoughts and writings even of those who were more persistent workers for the good of the country, but now educated India is tingling with a new life, and though the form taken may be at times extremely crude and even repellent, it is mone the less *life*, *life*, *life*.'

STUDENTS AND THE RENAISSANCE.

These declarations substantially sum up the views of all sound critics, who have brought to the discussion of the subject a fair and impartial frame of mind. We may safely adopt and adapt to our purposes the language of Lord Morely—in his essay on 'Compromise,'—that if—'every age is in some sort an age of transition, our own is characteristically and cardinally an epoch of transition in the very foundations of belief and conduct.' That such a momentous 'epoch of transition', such mental upheaval and intellectual and social ferment should be accompanied by some extravagances, some impatience, haste, folly or even violence, is not surprising. The responsible leaders of public opinion have strongly condemned these undesirable manifestations and have so guided public affairs that you may fairly hope that these objectionable elements will disappear in due course and will be remembered as but the passing phase of the great renaissance which we witness on all sides, and which is changing with an almost kaleidoscpoic rapidity the perspective, outlook and standpoint of educated Indians. I do not, therefore, share the pessimistic sentiments recently given expression to by some crities who—in their anxiety to impress upon the British public such views about Indian education as, on grounds of political expediency, should lead to a change of policy—have tried to adjust their preconceived conclusions to such facts only as were likely to support them. My own opinion is that the vast bulk of our students are quite as good, well-behaved, obedient and reverent as in any other part of the world, and it is ungenerous aud unfair to cast a slur upon them by a process of false generalisation based upon the conduct of but a handful of them—that too here and there. Some months back, I was present at a meeting of the Calcutta University Institute which was presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha—the Law Member—and I was gratified to find him giving expression to these very sentiments, which within the last few days have been endorsed by another distinguished countrymen of ours—the Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, C. I. E, Advocate-General, Madras. My object in drawing your attention to these facts is that you should always bear in mind your great responsibility in all that you say and do. There are men, whom I am afraid I must reluctantly call 'our enemies'—to borrow with apologies an expression of Lord Morley's—who are always on the look-out to cast discredit on the education you have received, to serve their political ends, and who with a view to make capital out of the occasional failings or foibles of a few members of your community, strain every nerve to bring into odium and disrepute high edcucation in India, which they declare to be at the bottom of the so-called Indian Unrest, the condemnatory designation by which they call the great 'living movement,' which we call the Indian Renaissance. You cannot therefore be too cateful not to play into the hands of your enemies, and I hope that not only in your resolutions in this Conference but in all your acts and declarations, you will steadily keep it in mind, so as not to give a chance to your unfriendly and unsympathetic critics to hold up your class and the education you have received to opprobrium.

THE QUESTION OF IDEALS.

I have said to you that you are living in an age of remarkbale transition, and I want you, therefore, to fully realise your duties and responsibilities.

In due course, you will be the leaders of the great movement which I have sketched and it will depend upon your ideals and method of work as to the turn which it will take. The great leaders who have guided it so far have done it to the best of their lights. It will now rest with you—a few years hence—to give what shape to it you may think proper. It is a trite saying that a citizen must have high ideals, though it is difficult to lay down in actual practice any exact definition. One thing however is certain. It will not be right for youngmen to be taught that they should be only so-called 'practical' men, who should confine their talents and energies to the immediate work before them, work under their very nose, irrespective of any large issues or possibilities and regardless of any high, soul-stirring ideals which may open out to them distant vistas for the development and full growth of Indian manhood and womanhood. You may rest assured, I am not going to hold up before you any such low, grovelling, sordid ideal, though it may be dignified by the name of 'practical politics' or 'practical reform.' I do believe in the Greek saying that 'to blot out the ideal is to take out the spring from out of the year' and I shall be the last person to think of doing so, being myself a firm believer in the dictum of the late Lord Acton—the most philosophic of British historians—that 'the pursuit of a remote and ideal object arrests the imagination by its splendour and captivates the reason by its simplicity and thus calls forth energy which would not be inspired by a rational, possible end, confined to what is resonable, practicable and just.' In the view therefore that I take of this question, I feel justified in asking you to keep always in mind high ideals in the work before you But while I warn you from always proceeding on so-called 'practical' considerations, it is none the less my duty to point out to you the limitation of the view of keeping high ideals, in the absence of which your work may not only be fruitless but perhaps fruitful of harm and mischief to the cause you may have at heart. The obvious limitation to keeping high ideals in view is, that they should not be so high as to be incapable of being even measurably realised. If you do not subject your ideals to this necessary limitation, you will run the risk of possessing such 'airy aspirations' as will come under the category of being fantastic and be quite impossible of realisation; and experience of public affairs will satisfy you that the impracticable visionary, the transcendantal idealist, is even more a hindrance to the real reformer than the person of low ideals who masquerades under the mantle of a 'practical' man. While, therefore, I hope, that none of you will think of emulating the so-called 'practical' man, whose 'practicality' is but a cloak for the disregard of high standards of living and conduct and of the noblest emotions, you must at the same time guard yourselves against degenerating into his 'nominal enemy but real ally,' the man of fantastic ideals, who is a mere visionary, who kicks against the pricks or butts his head against the stonewall, only with injury to himself and with advantage to none. The true conception of combining high ideals with the necessary limitation, I have pointed out, has been happily set forth by perhaps the most successful administrator and worker in public interest, I mean ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, in the following dictum :—'Common sense is essential above all other qualities to the idealist; for an idealist without common sense, without the capacity to work for actual results is merely a boat that is all sails, with neither ballast nor rudder.' If you keep these considerations in view, you are not likely to go wrong

and see your efforts brought to naught, whether in the field of social, educational or political activities.

IMPATIENT IDEALISM.

Another danger you have carefully to guard against is that of being an 'impatient idealist.' As you are no doubt aware the country has recently had to pay a heavy penalty for the acts of a handful of impracticable visionaries and 'impatient idealists.' Their nefarious deeds have disgraced our people and country and put back the hands of the clock of progress by at least half a century. Never had such serious limitation been placed on the rights of free speech, free association for public purposes and liberty of the press as during the last few years. And why? Because a handful of youngmeu in some parts of the country did not care to grasp the true lines of human progress, because they thought they could reproduce in this country, in the course of a few years, the prototypes of western institutions which it has taken European countries a number of centuries to evolve. These peoples did not realise, what all of you should, that real advance by a people in any sphere of activity is only very slowly achieved and that if it is to be permament and enduring it must be built up by a very slow process. As has been well put by Herbert Spencer :—'As between infancy and maturity there is no short cut by which there may be avoided the tedious process of growth and development through insensible increments, so there is no way from the lower forms of life to the higher but one passing through small successive modifications ; and if we contemplate the order of Nature we see that everywhere vast results are brought about by accumulations of minute actions.' 'Similarly' continues Spencer 'before there arise in human nature and human institutions changes having that permanence which makes them an acquired inheritance of the human race, there must be innumerable recurrences of the thoughts and feelings and actions conducive to such changes.' And he sums up by saying that 'the process cannot be abridged and must be gone through with due patience' and that 'the man of higher type must be content with greatly moderated expectations while he perseveres with undiminished efforts ; he has to see how comparatively little can be done and yet to find it worth while to do that little.' I want you to take to heart these wise words of one of the greatest of the world's thinkers, and if you will only keep them in mind you are not likely to 'cry for the moon.'

THE EVOLUTION OF AN INDIAN NATION.

The principles enunciated by Spencer are of particular value to us at the present moment when so many educated Indians are interested in the question of the evolution of an Indian nationality. I am sorry to have to say it but say it, I fear, I must, that the problem of Indian nationality has not yet been approached by most of our leaders in the true spirit or attemped to be worked out on right lines. If I may say so without impertinence, there has been too much of the tendency to resort to those 'shortcuts', which Spencer deprecates. It has been more or less taken for granted that by merely calling ourselves an 'Indian nation' in our writings and speeches and by being as a kind of permanent opposition to His Majesty's Government, we shall become what is understood in the West as a nation.' This absolutely erroneous idea has come to prevail amongst us, principally owing to the fact that such veneer of political unity as is possessed by the educated calsses is largely the outcome of a sense of common grievances

against the authorities and a feeling of opposition to the constituted Government. This may help in the formation of a class of a party opposed to the ruling power, but it is apparent that its very existence would disappear with the disappearance of the latter. On the contrary, true unity, which alone is the basis of nationality, does not result merely from any such fortuitous circumstances as a sense of wrong against a common opponent, but must spring from within and derive its sustenance from the indigenous elements of the community. That which is the result of such adventitious aids as opposition to a common adversary, is simply artificial and cannot in the nature of things retain any elements of permanent life. No sooner the antagonistic factor disappears, the artificial unity will cease to exist. Not so, however, the nationality which is built upon the rock of genuine unity and the prime cause of which is intellectual necessity which only comes into existence when each unit or component part of a people realises the fact that its individualisation has reached a point in self-expression, when it is desirable, in the interest of further advance or progress, to merge itself with others. Before, therefore, there can be a true effort at nation-building, the integral factors of the community must feel that their specialization has reached a point at which they may feel it to their advantage to merge their differences. Unfortunately, such is the barrenness of thought existing on this subject amongst even thoughtful persons, that the struggle by your own province, Behar, to realise its individualisation—the condition precedent to the formation of a true nationality—has been condemned by even critics from whom we expect a better knowledge, as an 'anti-national' movement. Who can after this blame some of our youngmen for having caught on the shibboleths of the current political cant and for having set themselves in opposition to the efforts of Behar at this natural expression of the evolutionary process? We know that the power of labels and shibboleths is stronger in the East than in the West and to people living in this land 'short cus,' which hold out the prospect of taking one at a jump to the goal, without traversing the intervening space, offer greater attractions than long and tedious processess. However that may be, I hope you will fully realise that it is only after the full self-assertion and complete individualisation of each component part of India that anything like true Indian unity can be or shall be achieved. Unless and until all the parts making up the country become self-expressive and self-subsistent, no Indian nation can possibly come into existence, for, as I have stated above, unity can only be the direct result, not the negation, of a full-developed individualism of each organic part of the whole organism. The current and popular theory in this country that Indian unity can be brought about by ignoring, nay suppressing, the component parts and wholly independent of them, is, therefore, to my mind, not only unscientific but also unwarranted by experience and the teachings of history. That it is practically unsound is evident to all those who have followed the course of events during the last few years, the outstanding feature of which is the gradual disappearance of the veneer of artificial unity, under the pressure of the feeblest of disruptive forces, as represented by the Muslim League,—except in your province, Behar, where true unity is fairly complete as the result of the joint self-expression of the individualism of both the Hindu and Mussalman commuuities, a state of affairs which nowhere else in India has yet come into existence. It should thus be clear to you that if you are desirous to evolve a true Indian nationality, your duty is plain. It is not

simply to shout with the crowd and mouth popular platitudes and thereby play to the gallery. But your duty is to see that your province fully developes itself to the utmost in the struggle for existence and in its capacity to hold its own, till it becomes self-contained, so that when similar conditions have come to exist in the other provinces, the time shall have come for a recognition of the absolute necessity of unification and co-operation as the only course open for solving the conflicting problems which will then have arisen.

DEFECTS OF INDIAN CHARACTER.

To evolve in your country a true and genuine nationality, it is not only necessary that you should realise the right lines on which to proceed, but also the requisite qualifications which you as citizens should possess. You know the popular saying that every people has the government it deserves, which means that the type of each government depends upon the character and capacity of the people it rules over. That is a truism, and hence if you want to enjoy the benefits of self-government under British rule, it is your bounden duty to equip yourselves with such capacity and character as will enable you to exercise, with credit to yourself and with advantage to your people, the high privileges which citizenship in a self-governing state brings in its train. Immense as has been the progress in the intellectual and moral advancement of educated Indians, not even our greatest admirer can honestly say that we are not wanting in the possession of many of those public virtues which are necessary equipments of the character of a citizen. Leaving aside the masses, that is the vast bulk of our people, it cannot be honestly said that even the educated classes have yet displayed in any appreciable degree the possession of that kind of character which one has to pre-suppose as existing in citizens of self-governing states. Our deep-rooted selfishness, our ingrained spirit of disunion, our blind confidence in the existing state of things and our reluctance to accept the efficacy of change, our helplessness in the face of natural evils and sudden difficulties, our short-sighted covetousness that impells us, often to kill the goose that lays the golden egg, our habits of sheer indolence and procrastination, our loose, careless talk and reckless promises and assertions, our distrust of each other and the absence of any feeling of co-operation in us—these and many other failings of a like nature—all conduce to make earnest work difficult, slow, exasperating and as often as not abortive. They have a saying in the West that 'all are for each and each is for all', whereas with us it is a case, I fear of 'each for himself and only God for us all.' If, therefore, you desire to develop the character which will enable you to discharge properly your duties and responsibilities in the State, you have a treble duty to perform—firstly, to conquer the many shortcomings of your character, to extirpate from your mind the pernicious effects of early teachings and surroundings; secondly, to teach and help your co-adjutors in public work to do the same; and thirdly, to organise the work itself.

Here again a large fund of patience is necessary and nothing will be gained by being 'impatient idealists.' Even at the present rate of progress, many generations will pass away before the country will have reached a state of thorough working order, but it behoves each of you to do what little you can to pioneer your people in its forwad march to the goal—firstly, by working in your person, and secondly, by working on those, with

whom you come in contact. You should, therefore, be prepared to get rid of the obstacles which staud at present in the way of your progress towards a new national life. These are principally an unduc reverence for the past and a reluctance to alter the present. And here I may point out to you that in judging of national character as an important element of self-government, the capaof a class—the educated few—is not quite relevant. If you will study English history carefully, you will find that it was never the case that at any time England possessed an indubitable superiority of intellectual capacity or culture in her statesmen, over those of other European countries, but it was rather that since the Elizabethan times the vast bulk of the people of England have displayed a sense of national unity and a conception of national principle which are the concomitants of a high national character. Unless, therefore, you devote yourselves to mould and develop the aggregate of the racial character of the people of your province and your country, your dream of an Indian nationality is likely to remain unrealised. I say this not to discourage you or damp your enthusiasm, but to point out how vast a field of useful work is lying before you in the matter of the education of the masses and the reclamation of the depressed classes, who number quite six crores, just about one-fifth the total population of India. Here is work which may profitably occupy all of you for years—work than which none nobler and more patriotic can possibly be conceived or commended to earnest youngmen like yourselves.

INTELLECT *versus* EMOTION.

If you have ever gone in for self-introspection you must have realised that some of your failings, which are hinderances to public work, are due not so much to bad habits as to the fact that though you intellectually assent to many things, your feelings and emotions stand in the way of your carrying them out in practice. It may at first sight seem paradoxical that your feelings should not permit you to do what commands your intellectual assent. It is one of the most common things in Indian public life, in all spheres of activities, to find people professing views and sentiments which they dare not think of putting into practice. It is, in fact, a matter of every-day knowlege that the educated Indian is in many matters considerably wanting in the courage of his convictions. Now why that should be? The question is discussed by Spencer in a luminous essay on 'Feeling *versus* Intellect.' This is how he explains the apparent inconsistency:—'It is assumed that when men are taught what is right, they will do what is right—that a proposition intellecually accepted will be morally propositive. This undue faith in teaching is mainly caused by the erroneous conception of mind. Were it fully realised that the emotions are the master and intellect the servant, it would be seen that little could be done by improving the servant while the masters remain unimproved.' That being so, how necessary it is that our youngmen should have a chance of improving by proper exercise their emotions as well as their intellect! For obvious reasons, however, it is not possible for our schools and colleges to offer the students suitable opportunities for what can be properly developed and exercised only in the more congenial surroundings of a home. And as the home implies the influence and guidance of women, it is clear that there cannot be surroundings favourable to the growth of emotions in our homes, unless our women are qualified by education to play their parts as

they should. In this view of the matter, you are brought face to face with one of the greatest problems of Indian reforms—namely, the emancipation—physical and mental—of our women. I shall ask you to address yourselves in right earnest to this problem of all problems, than which none is more pressing or more emergent. Unless you take up in right earnest this great cause which is clamouring for reform—the woman's cause, which is no less man's—you will have failed in your duty as educated persons and will not have proved yourselves worthy of the education you have received.

NEW OCCASIONS TEACH NEW DUTIES.

I fear, I have taxed your patience too much and shall not be justified in tresspassing on it much longer. But I desire to impress upon you with all the emphasis at my command that while you should conserve in your habits and character, all that is healthy and wholesome in our traditions and institutions, it is your bounden duty to modify and adapt them to your present requirements. In addition to revising the old standards of ideals and conduct in the light of the present situation, you should so attune your mind as to make it open to receive new impressions, new ideals and new lines of conduct. Only thus by proper conservation and assimilation, you will have combined in yourselves the true culture of both the East and the West, and falsified the half-truth that they can never meet. You have thus before you a limitless field for your activities. To keep yourselves healthy—a sound mind in a sound body—to eschew bad habits, to acquire and develop good habits—especially those that educated Indians are wanting in—to acquire Western knowledge and assimilate Western culture while conserving the best that you have inherited from the past, the education of the masses and of our women, the reform of baneful customs which have wrought havoc in our society and, if necessary, their complete eradication—these and others I have pointed out above, with others suggested to you by my predecessors, will afford you enough work for a life-time, if only you are minded to do it. You are living in an age of conflict of ideals and I cannot do better than commend to you the wall-known lines of the great American poet, James Russel Lowell ;—

New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth.
Lo ? before us gleam her camp-fires ;
We ourselves must pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly
Through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the future's portals
With the past's blood rusted key.

If only you will address yourselves to your work in the spirit suggested by the poet, you will find a great deal to do in life and that too of an absorbing interest. Though much good wirk has been done in the past by your leaders, very much more yet remains to be done. You may still dream many brihgt dreams about your country and do many brihgt deeds for your peogle. The work before you, in the way of regenerating our dear Motherland, is yet

so vast and so interesting withal, as to call forth all that is best in you; and if only you will approach it in the right spirit, you may depend upon it that no young Alexander amongst yon need despair, beeause there are no more kingdoms left for him to conquer on the ancient shores of the Indus and the Ganges.

The late Mrs. Ramapat Ram,

It is with the deepest regret that we have learnt of the premature death of that distinguished Kayastha lady—the wife of Mr. Ramapat Ram, M. A., a son of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sri Ram, C. I. E., of Lucknow. Mrs. Ramapat Ram was the eldest daughter of the late lamented Rai Bahadur Jai Prakash Lall, C. I. E., long the famous Dewan of Dumraon Raj. She was brought up by her father with great care and was one of the most accomplished ladies in Upper India. Her marriage was a notable event in Hindustani Kayastha society by reason of its being the first alliance of its kind in high life between two Kayastha families of Behar and Oudh. Lately she had to undergo a rather serious operation in Calcutta, where nothing was left undone by her husband and her brother, Babu Harihar Prasad Singh of Dumraon, to bring about her recovery. But unfortunately inspite of the best medical and surgical aid which was requisitioned, she did not rally and died the other day at Lucknow to the great grief of her relations and a large circle of their friends. We offer one sincerest condolence to her husband, Mr. Ramapat Ram, and her brother, Babu Harihar Prasad Singh.

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Quarterlies (Foreign) :—[1] The *Quarterly Review*, [2] The *Edinburgh Review*, [3] The *Hibbert Journal*, [4] The *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, [5] The *East and the West*, [6] The *Buddhist Review*, [7] The *Monist* ; **(Indian)** : [8] The *Calcutta Review*, [9] The *Malabar Quarterly Review*, [10] The *Indian Interpreter*, [11] The *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, [12] The *Agricultural Journal of India*, [13] The *Ceylon National Review*, [14] *Journal of S. I. Institute*, [15] The *American Review of Reviews*, and [16] The *London Review*.

Monthlies (Foreign) :—[17] The *Contemporary Review*, [18] The *National Review*, [19] The *English Review*, [20] The *Review of Reviews*, [21] The *North American Review*, [22] The *Literary Guide*, [23] The *Indian Magazine*, [24] The *Positivist Review*, [25] The *Socialist Review*, [26] The *Twentieth Century Magazine*; [27] The *Open Court*, [28] The *British Empire Review*, [29] *United Empire*, [30] *Travel and Exploration* ; **(Indian)** : [31] The *Modern Review*, [32] The *Indian World*, [33] *East and West*, [34] The *Indian Review*, [35] The *Indian Ladies' Magazine*, [36] The *Dawn*, [37] The *International Police Service Magazine*, [38] The *Vedic Magazine*, [39] The *Muslim Review*, [40] The *Criminal Law Journal of India*, [41] The *Epicure*, and [42] The *Current Literature*.

Fortnightlies (Foreign) : [43] The *Dial*; **(Indian)**: [44] The *Calcutta Law Journal*, [45] The *Bombay Law Reporter*, [46] The *Madras Law Journal*, and [47] The *Empress*.

Weeklies (Foreign):—[48] The *Saturday Review*, [49] The *Nation*, [50] The *Outlook*, [51] The *Times* [with *Literary Supplement*], [52] The *Outlook* [New York], [53] The *Overseas Daily Mail*, [54] *T. P.'s Weekly*, [55] *India*, [56] The *Literary Digest*, [57] *Indian Opinion*, [58] *Public Opinion*, [59] The *Living Age*, [60] The *Nation*, (New York) [61] The *Standard of Empire* ; [62] The *Independent* ; **(Indian)** : [63] *Capital*, [64] The *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, [65] The *Allahabad Law Journal*, [66] The *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, [67] The *Madras Law Times*, [68] The *Indian Nation*, [69] The *Indian Social Reformer*, [70] The *Parsi*, [71] The *Hindi Punch*, [72] The *Mussalman*, [73] The *Wednesday Review*, [74] The *Mahratta*, [75] The *Indian Planter's Gazette*, [76] *Commerce*, and [77] The *Madras Weekly Notes*.

Tri-Weekly :—[78] The *Panjabee*. **Semi-Weekly** :—[79] The *Advocate*.

Dailies (Indian).—[80] The *Englishman*, [81] The *Statesman*, [82] The *Indian Daily News*, [83] The *Empire*, [84] The *Bengalee*, [85] The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, [86] The *Indian Mirror*, [87] The *Hindu Patriot*, [88] The *Times of India*, [89] The *Bombay Gazette*, [90] The *Advocate of India*, [91] The *Civil and Military Gazette*, [92] The *Tribune*, [93] The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, [94] The *Morning Post*, [95] The *Madras Mail*, [96] The *Hindu*, [97] The *Madras Standard*, [98] The *Indian Patriot*, [99] The *Madras Times*, [100] The *Sind Gazette*, [101] The *Pioneer* and [102] The *Leader*. **(Foreign)**—[103] The *Chicago Evening Post*.

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EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law*.

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."

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SIR WILFRID LAWSON'S LIFE: LESSONS TO INDIAN REFORMERS.

By Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

DURING my time I have come in close contact with three of our leading public men, now all deceased, who were of the salt of the earth: Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Marquis of Ripon, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson; personalities differing in temperament, but alike in their grasp of principles, and pure unselfishness. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was a familiar friend of my brother Sir David at Trinity College, Cambridge, so I knew him from early years: high office had no deteriorating effect on that kindly Scot; he always remained the same, with his pawkie humour, and shrewd practical good sense. The friendship of Sir Wilfrid Lawson was also a legacy from my brother, who in the House of Commons had always stood by Sir Wilfrid in his temperance crusade. Of Lord Ripon I had known little until 1880, when he landed at Bombay, but he had no sooner put foot in India than the Indian people recognised his quality as a good and just man; they were sure that he would prove their friend, and he justified their estimate, as the best Viceroy that India ever saw. The existence of such men, who are to a certain extent typical of the national character, may give hope to those who are inclined to despair of benefit to India from the British connection. "Spite of despondence and the inhuman dearth of noble natures," we may look for better

things both for India and for Britain if, disregarding the "accidental separations of geography and race, those who love righteousness, in the East and in the West, realise the true bonds of brotherhood, and work together intelligently for the common good.

I have now before me Mr. G. W. E. Russell's *Memoir of Sir Wilfrid Lawson.* It was published last year, and in ordinary course reviews appeared in several journals. But I will ask the *Hindustan Review* to provide in its pages a more permanent record of some of the lessons which may be learned from this noble and strenuous life. Young India will find in his career a line of conduct worthy of imitation: the early selection of a guiding principle; the unrelaxing hold on a definite course of action; and a cheerful patience under hope deferred during long years. Sir Wilfrid Lawson's motto was, "hope everything, expect nothing." He realised "the tremendous powers that are always at hand to prevent anything being done," but this never daunted him. Failure brought no discouragement; to him it was only the strongest possible argument for trying again.

It was in 1864 that Sir Wilfrid first brought in his Permissive Bill. The rules of the House require that the name of at least one other member should appear on the back of a Bill, and Sir Wilfrid found great difficulty in getting any one to give his name for so unpopular a measure. At the second reading the Bill was thrown out by 292 against 35. He had long to wait, and many battles to fight, but before his death in 1906, Sir Wilfrid saw the Temperance cause approaching its triumph. He had a glimpse of the Promised Land, though he did not himself enter it. Never during these long years did his purpose falter, either as to principle or mode of action. Drink he held to be the poison which was destroying the people; what Lord Randolph Churchill called "the devilish and destructive drink traffic." And the antidote was to be found in local veto, in giving to the people the power to protect themselves. To us who have to wait long for reforms such tenacity of purpose is both an example and an encouragement.

Though his shrewdest blows were dealt at Drink, he was equally a foe of militarism and of oppression, whether exercised in Ireland, in South Africa, or in India. And here we find an illustration of his moral courage, of his utter disregard of consequences when a question of principle was at stake. It was in the darkest times of the South African war. As a prominent "Pro-Boer" even he had been defeated, in his old constituency at the "Khaki Election" of 1900: to use his own words,

the general idea set afloat by the (Tory) Government, inspired by Mr. Chamberlain, was that every one who objected to shooting Boers, burning their houses, and devastating their farms, was a "traitor." And this cry was successful against Sir Wilfrid. But in 1903 a vacancy occurred at Camborne, owing to the lamented death of Mr. W. S. Caine, and Sir Wilfrid was invited to contest the seat. At the instance of the "Eighty Club," I went down to Cornwall to help in the election, and was a witness of his brilliant campaign. Anticipating the wise and successful policy of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1906, he had, before the vacancy occurred, advocated a form of Home Rule for the Transvaal; and frantic appeals were consequently made to patriots to rend him in pieces. Some advisers thought that in this matter he should bend to the storm. Not so, Sir Wilfrid. In uncompromising terms he re-affirmed his views of what he considered just, and to the surprise of timid friends, the sturdy Cornishoners applauded wildly; and sent him to Parliament by a majority seven times greater than that secured by Mr. Caine in 1900.

So much for some of Sir Wilfrid's characteristics, from which example may be taken. I will now draw the reader's attention to two practical methods of prime importance to the Indian reformer: (1) The nature and ways of the British elector, and (2) the best means of furthering Indian interests in Britain. On these points much light is thrown by the words of wit and wisdom which give the experience of so shrewd an observer as Sir Wilfrid. The first point with regard to the British elector, is the difficulty of understanding him. As to this, Sir Wilfrid says: "My electioneering experience in Cumberland and elsewhere leads me to the conclusion that no creature which God has created is so difficult to understand as the British elector. You can never safely predict what he will do under any circumstances." On another occasion he said, "Mankind are indeed incomprehensible, especialy the English." Under this humorous presentment there lies the substantial fact that the electorate is so beset with vast and complicated surroundings, there are so many cross-currents of home and foreign, and colonial interests, that it is very difficult to gain an insight into the working of the great machine. But for India the electorate is of vital importance, as the final court of appeal. My proposition therefore is that Indian reformers should set themselves to study the British elector, and diligently to adopt every means by which he can be usefully influenced.

In this investigation what help can we get from Sir Wilfrid? "The real religion of the Englishman", he says, "is worship of vested interests." And again, referring to the many good schemes

which could not get forward, he says, "one is impressed by the staunch, solid, stolid hatred to change which dominates our people." This instinctive conservatism of the English people must be reckoned with by the Indian reformer. It is not shared in by the Irishman, the Scotchman, or the Welshman; but then the Englishman, by his great superiority in numbers over all the others combined, is the "predominant partner" in the House of Commons. Addressing an Edinburgh audience, Sir Wilfrid said: "Here in Scotland you are logical, intelligent, enlightened, and you have got rid of the old fallacies." On the other hand, the ordinary Englishman—the man in the street—is not logical, and he loves the old fallacies. If, by a process of reasoning, you prove your case to a Scotchman, you have gone far to convert him: in his ancient parish school, and under the rigor of calvinistic pulpits, he has been trained to logical conclusions. But this is not so with the Englishman. On the contrary; if you prove that one of his cherished institutions is logically absurd, you only make him angry. He has a vague idea that theory and practice are incompatible, and even antagonistic, and if, driven by unanswerable arguments, he admits that your proposal is "all very well in theory," that means that he thinks it would be bad in practice, and nothing on earth will induce him to adopt it.

The Englishman is above all things a "practical" man, and has the merits as well as the defects of his temperament. He works by rule of thumb, and will (however unwillingly) make a change when he finds the existing state of matters unendurable. In such a case he will devise a working remedy, mostly in the nature of a compromise. He has in fact a perfect genius for getting out of a tight place. Such is the simple genesis of the Englishman's institutions, and his extraordinary national success confirms him in his traditional methods. He may be likened to a man being in a fine old Elizabethan mansion, which stands firm against all weathers, because each brick has been bound to its neighbour with well-tempered mortar. If you explain to this man that some of the walls are out of the perpendicular, that the front elevation offends the rules of architecture, and that the whole ground plan is absurd, you will only make him angry. He will not dream of changing that which his forefathers built up, and which fits into every nook and cranny of his nature. On the other hand, he will in his practical way deal with a definite evil; if, for example, typhoid breaks out in his household, he will look up the drains, and take infinite trouble to establish a sound system of sanitation. So also in politics. Let us take an illustration. When a Member of Parliament desires to resign his seat, he can do so by

accepting the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, on the ground that he thereby accepts an office of emolument under the Crown. As a matter of fact the stewardship carries no emolument, and is not an office under the Crown. But this absurd fiction hurts no one, so it remains unchanged. On the other hand if the veto of the House of Lords (which Sir Wilfrid calls "the most absurd and mischievous of all institutions") is found to produce an *impasse*, John Bull will (sooner or later) find a fair practical remedy in accordance with his traditions.

There remains to consider the best means of furthering Indian interests in England. I can only repeat the advice which I have given again and again to my Indian friends, that persistent efforts should be made in England, which is the seat of power. These efforts should be directed (*a*) to influencing those in chief authority, and (*b*) to making an appeal at first hand to King Demos. At first sight the prospect may not appear hopeful. The *vis inertiæ* of the English temperament, described above, makes it difficult to effect a change, unless the elector himself feels the pinch of the shoe. And all governments are disinclined to take action which may possibly damage them in the country. This discouraging truth is expressed by Sir Wilfrid with his familiar humour: "I don't think" he says, "that, as a rule, any English government, whatever its party title may be, is very keen about reforming anything, and will only—probably can only—do it when somebody or other outside is kicking up a fearful row." On the other hand, experience shows that a bold appeal to broad and noble principles rarely fails to sway the British democracy; also Secretaries of State of both parties, as for example, Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Morley, have been willing, even eager, to hear what accredited Indian representatives have to urge. In very recent times we have seen the success which has attended the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali in their personal communications with the Secretary of State. The opportunity is particularly favorable when the Liberals are in power, because then pressure can be brought in demanding that a Liberal government should apply Liberal principles to Indian affairs. Also India has sympathetic and powerful allies, in the Irish members and in the Labour party, which will undoubtedly grow in strength when our electoral system is placed on a proper basis. In conclusion, I must say that leading men in India will not have done their duty to their motherland until they establish in England, at the seat of power, a permanent delegation of trusted and competent representatives to hold a watching brief, and seize every opportunity of furthering the interests of India.

HIGH PRICES AND THEIR CAUSES.—II.

By Mr. Sasi Bhusan Mukerji.

THE policy of free trade pursued by our rulers is somewhat responsible for the rise of prices. If free trade is established between a rich manufacturing and a poor agricultural country, the price of the agriculture products falls in the rich importing country while it rises in the poor exporting country. A manufacturing country is generally rich and as such can afford to pay more for the necessary agricultural products than the people of the country where they actually grow. This is one of the causes of the recent rise of prices. Our customers are rich and they can create a more effective demand of our own produce in our own markets than we can. Consequently, the prices of our food grains are rising rapidly. But on the contrary prices of food stuffs have been steadily decreasing in Great Britain since the beginning of the last century. The following table shows how steadily the prices of British wheat has decreased during the last hundred years.

Years.	Prices per quarter.	
	Lowest.	Highest.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1805—1814 ...	3 14 4	6 6 6
1815—1824 ...	2 4 7	4 16 11
1825—1834 ..	2 6 2	3 8 6
1835—1844 ..	1 19 4	3 10 8
1845—1854 ..	1 18 6	3 12 5
1855—1864 ..	2 0 2	3 14 8¼
1865—1874	2 1 10	3 4 5
1875—1884	1 15 8	2 10 9
1885—1894	1 2 10	1 17 0
1895—1903	1 3 0	1 14 0

The table which has been computed from the price list of a great authority shows how British wheat is growing cheaper as years roll by. The imported wheat is cheaper still. Barley oats, *rye*, etc., have gradually been growing cheaper since the beginning of the last century. It has been computed that the average wholesale prices of twenty-two articles of food and drink have declined there by 33 per cent. and the retail prices by 49 per cent. since 1871. It is true that there has been a rise of prices since 1900, owing to certain fiscal as well as local causes, but the rise is too slight to be reckoned with.

The same is the cause with other importing, manufacturing countries. But the case is just the reverse in India which is mainly an exporting country. Unfortunately no reliable statistics of prices are available in India. Even now the statistics of prices published in the various official reports cannot be relied on. But I scrape up the following list to give an idea to my readers as to how prices have been going up on eagle's wings.

In Akbar's time a rupee would buy 2 maunds and 35 seers of wheat, or in other words the average price of wheat was a little over five annas per maund. It is said that during the mogul government the price of wheat, under ordinary circumstances, was 12 dams a maund or 90 seers a rupee. In 1795-96 it sold at Delhi at 70 seers a rupee Under the sikh administration wheat sold at *one rupee per maund* in the larger cities of the Panjab. In rural areas the rate was considerably lower. Prices came down considerably during the early administration of the British Government. Subsequently, the prices began to rise. They have been steadily increasing since the middle of the last century and the increase is three and in some places four or five times higher now than in the period prior to 1860.

The following table of the prices of wheat at Bareli for the last hundred years will give the reader an idea as to how the prices have been steadily rising in the United Provinces since the beginning of the last century.

Years	Seers per rupee		
	Highest	Lowest	Average
1805—13	68	37	43
1814—23	73	18	43
1824—33	56	28	39
1834—42	58	17	28
1843—51	49	35	37
1852—60	52	30	41
1861—70	33	12	20
1871—80	30	16	20
1881—90	22	14	17
1890—1901	16	9½	14

Formerly, prices were not everywhere the same in this vast and wide country. But it is certain that in the first quarter of the last century prices of wheat ranged from one to one and a quarter maund per rupee in normal

years. Until 1850, a maund of wheat for a rupee was not uncommon. Even in Bengal 29 seers of wheat could be purchased for a rupee. Now the price of wheat ranges from 4 to 5½ rupees a maund. Hence it may fairly be asserted that the price of this necessary article of food has become at least *four times higher* during the last sixty years.

The prices of rice have also risen considerably. In Akber's time course rice sold at 3 annas a maund. In Bengal common rice sold at 2 annas a maund during the Viceroyalty of Saista Khan. Saista Khan ruled Bengal till the fag end of the seventeenth century. It is also recorded in history that the price of rice was reduced to Saista Khan's standard in Eastern Bengal, specially at Dacca during the reign of Shuja Uddin Khan when Sherferaz Khan was appointed Governer of Dacca and Joswanta Roy his Dewan (1735 A. D). It may be fairly conjectured that common rice could be had for three or four annas per maund in the beginning of the eighteenth century. When Reja Khan monopolised the rice trade of Bengal there was a sharp rise of prices. Even in 1778, when the great famine devastated, Bengal rice sold at Rs. 5 per maund in some places only. It may be attested from the household account of the grand-father of the humble writer of these pages that some sixty-five years ago, common rice was sold at Gobardanga, a village about 36 miles from Calcutta, at ten annas per maund and good rice (probably balaam) at one rupee and four annas per maund. Now common rice sells at Rs. 4 per maund and balaam at 5½ to 7 rupees. One may easily make out how rapidly the price of this food grain has been rising.

Similarly it may be shown that the price of barley, jowar, bajra, maize, gram, pulse, etc., have been continually rising since the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is now evident that during the last century prices in England decreased considerably while in India they increased even more rapidly. England has now to import more than two-thirds of her food stuffs from foreign countries, while India produces all that she is in need of. But India is a debtor country and the dumping ground of foreign manufactured articles. Her chief wealth is her agricultural products. Consequently her export trade is being artificially stimulated.

Drought disturbance of seasonal rainfall, blight, locusts etc., are no doubt potent causes of the rise of prices because they diminish the supply. In India, there are 109,600 square miles under rice, 36,861 square miles under wheat and 124,786 square miles under millets and pulses. If a third of the produce is destroyed by causes mentioned a bove, there is famine in the land.

I will now deal with the last of the main causes which have brought about the present high prices. This cause is an intricate one. It resides in the currency of the realm. Some political economists maintained that the law of supply and demand operates upon the value of money.

If the supply of money be small, its purchasing power increases and prices fall down ; if the supply be large, its purchasing power diminishes and prices rule high. On this point opinions differ. But there seems to be a consensus of opinion that if the supply of money outstrips the actual demand caused by the growth of wealth and expansion of trade, the value of money comes down *temporarily* and there is a general rise in prices. The real difficulty to understand the question presents itself when the intrinsic value of the coin is at par with its token value. No government can have any interest in adding to the currency when the intrinsic value of coin is at a level with its token value. And even if any unnecessary addition is made to the current coin, the value of the coin become adjusted by the redundant coin being thrown off by melting or being used for metallic purposes. Consequently its effect becomes temporary. But if the current coin has a fictitious value, that is, if its extrinsic value is greatly in excess of the intrinsic value, as is the case with our rupee currency, the effect becomes permanent. The intrinsic or bullion value of the rupee is about ten annas, while its extrinsic or currency value is sixteen annas. This fictitious value is bolstered up by closing the mint and thereby making the rupee scarce. The currency reform adopted by the Indian Government in 1893 was based on the theory that the quantity of money acts powerfully on its value, under such circumstances to strike more coin than is absolutely necessary is sure to have a detrimental effect on its value.

It is said that India has practically adopted the gold standard, by fixing the value of the rupee at 16d, that is, the rupee is only an auxiliary coin to the sovereign. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson evidently had this view in mind when he said :—

India by its adoption of a gold standard has been switched on to the currency gauze of the rest of the world; and is undoubtedly bearing its share in the price fluctuations, to which the rest of the world has been subject. Indeed a careful study of the gold prices in Europe during the recent years and of the general prices of commodities in India reveals a close parallelism. This country is undergoing great economic changes and the change in money value is one of them.

Sir Guy seems to have taken two things for granted :—

First—India has adopted a gold standard.

Secondly—India's participation in the general rise of prices is mainly due to the adoption of the gold standard.

Let us consider the two points. Has India adopted a gold standard ? Practically not. Had she adopted the gold standard, the rupee which in that case would have been a coin for small change, would have got a limited legal tender. In great Britain, the silver coin (shilling) is a legal tender up to forty shillings and copper up to one shilling. But such is not the case in India. Here the silver coin is a legal tender without imit. Copper, the immortal *paisha*, is an auxiliary or subsidiary coin,

because it has a fixed legal tender. Moreover the paper currency, promissory notes, etc are issued in respect of the silver currency, the rupee, and not the gold currency. If a man goes to the currency office to change some six ten rupee currency notes, he cannot demand, as a legal right, to be paid in the gold coin. Recently the currency and banks have stopped payment in gold (i e sovereign). Even now a sovereign cannot be had for Rs. 15 only. Under such circumstances how can it be asserted that India has adopted a gold standard? She has not even adopted a bimetallic standard; for in that case both the gold and the silver coins would have been freely passed current. Granting that she has adopted a bimetallic currency, it may be shown that its inevitable evil has come to pass. Locke has truly remarked;—" two metals as gold and silver cannot be the measure of commerce both together in any country." The country by adopting bimetallic currency has practically adopted the depreciated currency. The gold coins have been melted or hoarded, while all sorts of barter are being made with the depreciated metal. Under such circumstances, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's assertion that India has adopted a gold standard does not hold water.

The second assertion is corrollary to the first. If the first goes down, the second is bound to go down with it. But the Finance Minister with a remarkable audacity said:—" Indeed a careful study of the gold prices in Europe during recent years and of the general prices of commodities in India, reveals a clear parallelism." Sir Guy's language is vague enough. It hides the real issue. If Sir Guy really means that prices have risen and fallen in India concurrently with and proportionately to the rise of prices in Europe then his argument is clear. But that is not the fact. It has been calculated that during the last six years the price of food grains in India has risen 43 per cent, while in the United Kingdom it has risen only 16 per cent. Hence it is clear that Sir Guy has made a very careless study of facts. As regards the concurrent rise of prices, it may be easily accounted for. Whenever trade relations are established between two countries, one as importing and the other as exporting, a rise of prices in the latter is sure to cause a rise of prices in the former and *vice versa*. This is an admitted fact under normal conditions.

I hope I have made it sufficiently clear that India has not adopted a gold standard; for in that case the rupee would have been used as a small change. Neither can it be asserted that we have adopted the silver standard for in that case, the rupee would have passed current at its bullion value. Our monetary position is highly anomolous. The principle on which our monetary system is based, is not in keeping with the general or accepted monetary law. The general or accepted monetary law is that the people must accept some precious metal as their standard, which is to serve as a medium of exchange and measure of value. The value of the coin lies in the bullion of which it is made and the stamp of the mint is

put upon it to ensure its genuineness, both as regards weight and the quality of metal. True monetary principle requires that nothing should be charged for seigniorage. In some civilized countries, such as France, a small seigniorage is charged upon the bullion value of the coin, but the charge is trifling, it should be left out of consideration. In England, no seigniorage is charged, hence to all intents and purposes, the identity between the coined and uncoined standard metal is complete. This is perfectly in accord with the true monetary laws.

But our monetary system is based on a false theory. Here there is a great difference between the coined and uncoined metal. Almost forty per cent. is charged for the seigniorage. At the outset it was proposed that this fictitious value of the coined metal would be bolstered up by closing the mint against free coinage. Thus the rupee has since been made a quite different commodity from the silver of which it is made. The Government then pledged to exchange rupees for gold and gold for rupees at the price fixed by themselves. The Gold Standard Reserve Fund was created expressly for that purpose, out of the immense profit accruing from coining the rupee. Sir Henry Fowler's committee thus put forth the conditions on which the success of the present spurious monetary system depended :—

> The Government should continue to give rupees for gold, but fresh rupees should not be coined, until the proportion of gold in the currency is found to exceed the requirements of the public.

But Alas ! this recommendation has not been carried out. There is little gold in the currency and the Gold Standard Reserve Fund, like the famous Famine Insurance Fund has since been diverted to several purposes, other than that for which it was originally started. The Gold accruing from the coinage profit was retained in England. When it further increased, it was drawn upon for investments in Irish land stock, Transvaal Loans, Railway construction and a temporary loan (?) to assist Government in meeting the heavy drafts of the Secretary of State ; and to crown all a "Silver Branch of the Gold Standard Reserve" has been created. Meanwhile, the Government, of its own accord, have been going on coining the rupee. In 1898, the total currency of India was estimated to be 120 crores of rupees. During 1900—08 no less than 100 crores were added to the currency. The mint was closed in 1893. From 1893—94 to 1903—04, the total coinage of rupees at the mints amounted to 55·9 crores. The largest additions were made in 1900—01 (13·27 crores) and 1903—04 (10·5 crores). In 1893—04 the gross circulation of currency notes amounted to Rs. 28·29 crores and the net circulation to 20·83 crores, while in 1903—04 the gross circulation of the currency notes rose to 36·4 crores and the net circulation to 30-39 crores. It is evident that these additions to the current coin of the realm must have had a deliterious effect on its token value, especially because its fictitious value was to be

maintained by the scantiness of supply. Money is a commodity performing the functions of a common measure of value and as such it is influenced by the law of supply and demand. Under such circumstances the recent additions to the current coins have certainly told adversely on their value.

It has been argued that all the coins struck at the mint are not in active circulation, a portion of it, has been hoarded and as such has ceased to exert any influence upon the circulating coin. Those who advance such foolish theories think that the country is inhabited by a horde of fools. The people who were so long accustomed to appraise a *tola* of silver at one rupee, now find that a rupee can buy a tola and a half weight of pure silver. Consequently they do not melt it and turn it into silver ornaments. So a favourite method of hoarding the silver coin is not now resorted to. A few rupees may yet be hoarded. But their number is very small. Even the simple rustic knows that if the rupee loses 2 per cent in weight, or become clipped and defaced, its value will be reduced almost by half. Hence it is not so largely hoarded as formerly. So the currency issued offers no diminution. Moreover the inflated coin offers a temptation to some people to strike spurious coins. Thus we find counterfeit coins knocking about the Indian bazaars in large numbers. In spite of official vigilance the business of the counterfeit coiners are going on briskly. So it is evident that the currency issued, instead of diminishing is rather increasing. One may, therefore, easily make out that redundancy of the debased coin is telling heavily on its value. If the value of the coin decreases, prices rise. Henry Fawcett, an eminent political economist, seemed to think that that the redundancy of the rupee diminishes its value and increases prices. In the course of the famous speech on the Indian Budget in 1873 he said :—

> Of the 172,500,000 of specie which has been poured into India during the last eleven years, a considerable proportion has of course been added to her circulation. This has naturally produced a rise in prices and a similar effect has followed the increase of the paper currency consequent on its being made a legal tender. From the peculiar nature of the Indian trade it seems almost certain that this importation of specie will continue. This rise in prices will be assisted by the general rise in prices that is taking place throughout the world , which is due to a depreciation in the value of the precious metals, a fact now admitted by almost every financier and economist of eminence.

How prophecy has come to be true ! The depreciation of the value of the rupee is therefore a potent cause of the rise in prices.

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ISLAM.—I.

By Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law.

PRE-Islamic Arabia was divided into various tribes continually at war with one another. Each tribe had its own chief, its own god and its own poet, whose tribal patriotism manifested itself chiefly in the glorification of the virtues of his own tribe. Though these primitive social groups recognised, to a certain extent, their kinship with one another, yet it was mainly the authority of Muhammad and the cosmopolitan character of his teaching which shattered the aristocratic ideals of individual tribes, and welded the dwellers of tents into one common ever-expanding nationality. For our purposes, however, it is necessary to notice, at the outset, the features of the Arabian system of tribal succession, and the procedure followed by the members of the tribe on the death of their chief. When the Chief or Shaikh of an Arab tribe died all the elders of the tribe met together, and, sitting in a circle, discussed the matter of succession. Any member of the tribe could hold the chieftainship if he were unanimously elected by the elders and heads of great families. The idea of hereditary monarchy, as Von Kreme has pointed out, was quite foreign to the Arab mind, though the principle of seniority which, since Ahmad I., has received legal recognition in the constitution of modern Turkey, did certainly influence the election. When the tribe was equally divided between two leaders, the rival sections separated from each other until one of the candidates relinquished his claim; otherwise the sword was appealed to. The Chief thus elected could be deposed by the tribe if his conduct necessitated deposition. With the expansion of the Arab conquest, and the consequent enlargement of mental outlook, this primitive custom gradually developed into a Political Theory carefully constructed, as we shall see, by the constitutional lawyers of Islam through reflective criticism on the revelations of political experience.

True to this custom, the Prophet of Arabia left no instructions with regard to the matter of his succession. There is a tradition that the old Amir, son of Tufail, came to the Prophet and said, "If I embrace Islam what would my rank be? Willst thou give me the command after thee?" "It does not belong to me," said the Prophet, "to dispose of the command after me." Abu Bakr—the Prophet's father-in-law and one of his chief companions—therefore, in consequence of the danger of internal disruption, was rather hurriedly and irregularly elected. He then rose and addressed the people thus:—

Oh people! Now I am ruler over you, albeit not the best amongst you. If I do well, support me; if ill, then set me right. Follow the true wherein is faithfulness, eschew the false wherein is treachery. The weaker amongst you shall be as the stronger with me, until, that I shall have redressed his wrong; and the stronger shall be as the

weaker until, if the Lord will, I shall have taken from him that which he hath wrested. Leave not off to fight in the ways of the Lord ; whosoever leaveth off, him verily shall the Lord abase. Obey me as I obey the Lord and his Prophet, wherein I disobey, obey me not.

Omar, however, afterwards held that the hurried election of Abu Bakr, though very happy in its consequences and justified by the need of the time, should not form a precedent in Islam ; for, as he is reported to have said (Dozy, I. p. 121), an election which is only a partial expression of the people's will is null and void. It was, therefore, early understood that Political Sovereignty *de facto* resides in the people ; and that the electorate by their free act of unanimous choice embody it in a determinate personality in which the collective will is, so to speak, individualised, without investing this concrete seat of power with any privilege in the eye of the law except legal control over the individual wills of which it is an expression. The idea of universal agreement is, in fact, the fundamental principle of Muslim constitutional theory. "What the Muslim community considers good," says the Prophet, "God also considers good." It is probably on the authority of this saying of the Prophet that Al-Ash'ari developed his political dogma—"That error is impossible in the united deliberations of the whole community." After the death of Abu Bakr, Omar, who acted as Chief Judge during his predecessor's Caliphate, was universally elected by the people. In 644 A.D. he was mortally wounded by a Persian slave, and committed his trust, before he died, to seven electors—one of them being his own son—to nominate his successor, with the condition that their choice must be unanimous, and that none of them must stand as a candidate for the, Caliphate. It will be seen, from Omar's exclusion of his own son from the candidature, how remote was the idea of hereditary monarchy from the Arabian political consciousness. The choice of this council, however fell upon one of the councillors, Uthman, who was consequently nominated, and the nomination afterwards confirmed by the people. The caliphate of Uthman is really the source of the three great religio-political parties with their respective political theories which each party, finding itself in power, attempted to realise in one or other of the provinces of the Arab Empire. Before, however, I proceed to describe these theories, I want to draw attention to the following two points :—

(1) That the Muslim Commonwealth is based on the absolute equality of all Muslims in the eye of the law. There is no privileged class, no priesthood, no caste system. In his latter days the Prophet once ascended the pulpit and said to the people :

"Muslims : If I have struck any one of you, here is my back that he may strike me. If anyone has been wronged by me, let him return injury for injury. If I have taken anybody's goods, all that I have is at his disposal." A man arose and claimed a debt of three dirhams (about three shillings),

"I would much rather," said the Prophet, "have the shame in this world than in the next." And he paid him on the spot.

The law of Islam does not recognise the apparently natural differences of race, nor the historical differences of nationality. The political ideal of Islam consists in the creation of a people born of a free fusion of all races and nationalities. Nationality, with Islam, is not the highest limit of political development; for the general principles of the law of Islam rest on human nature, not on the peculiarities of a particular people. The inner cohesion of such a nation would consist not in ethnic or geographic unity, not in the unity of language or social tradition, but in the unity of the religious and political ideal; or, in the psychological fact of "likemindedness," as St. Paul would say The membership of this nation, consequently, would not be determined by birth, marriage, domicile or naturalisation. It would be determined by a public declaration of "likemindedness," and would terminate when the individual has ceased to be likeminded with others. The ideal territory for such a nation would be the whole earth. The Arabs, like the Greeks and the Romans endeavoured to create such a nation or the world-state by conquest, but failed to actualise their ideal. The realisation of this ideal, however, is not impossible; for the ideal nation does already exist in germ. The life of modern political communities finds expression, to a great extent, in common institutions, Law and Government; and the various sociological circles, so to speak, are continually expanding to touch one another. Further, it is not incompatible with the sovereignty of individual States; since its structure will be determined, not by physical force, but by the spiritual force of a common ideal.

(2) That according to the law of Islam there is no distinction between the Church and the State. The State with us is not a combination of religious and secular authority, but it is a unity in which no such distinction exists. The Caliph is not necessarily the high-priest of Islam; he is not the representative of God on earth. He is fallible like other men, and is subject, like every Muslim, to the impersonal authority of the same law. The Prophet himself is not regarded as absolutely infallible by many Muhammadan theologians (*e.g.*, Abu Ishaq, Tabari). In fact, the idea of personal authority is quite contrary to the spirit of Islam. The Prophet of Arabia succeeded in commanding the absolute submission of an entire people; yet no man has depreciated his own authority more than he. "I am," he says, "a man like you; like you my forgiveness also depends on the mercy of God." Once in a moment of spiritual exaltation, he is reported to have said to one of his companions, "Go and tell the people—'he who says—there is only one God—will enter the paradise'," studiously omitting the second half of the Muslim creed—"And Muhammed is his Prophet." The ethical importance of this attitude is great. The whole system of Islamic ethics is based on the idea of in-

dividuality; anything which tends to repress the healthy development of individuality is quite inconsistent with the spirit of Islamic law and ethics. A Muslim is free to do anything he likes, provided he does not violate the law. The general principles of this law are believed to have been revealed; the details, in order to cover the relatively secular cases, are left to the interpretation of professional lawyers. It is, therefore, true to say that the entire fabric of Islamic law, actually administered, is really judge-made law, so that the lawyer performs the legislative function in the Muslim constitution. If, however, an absolutely new case arise which is not provided for in the law of Islam, the will of the whole Muslim community becomes a further source of law. But I do not know whether a general council of the whole Muslim community was ever held for this purpose.

I shall now describe the three great political theories to which I have alluded above. I shall first take up the Sunni view.

I. Elective Monarchy.

A. *The Caliph and the People.*

During the days of the early Caliphate things were extremely simple. The Caliphs were like private individuals, sometimes doing the work of an ordinary constable. In obedience to the Quranic verse—"and consult them in all matters,"—they always consulted the more influential companions of the Prophet, in judicial and executive matters, but no formal ministers existed to assist the Caliph in his administrative work. It was not until the time of the House of Abbas that the Caliphate became the subject of scientific treatment. In my descripition of the Sunni view I shall mainly follow Al-Māwardy—the earliest Muslim constitutional lawyer who flourished during the reign of the Abbasi Caliph Al-Qādir. Al-Māwardy divides the whole Muslim community into two classes—(1) the electors, (2) the candidates for election. The qualifications absolutely necessary for a candidate are thus enumerated by him:

1. Spotless character. 2. Freedom from physical and mental infirmity. The predecessor of the present Sultan of Turkey was deposed under this condition. 3. Necessary legal and theological knowledge in order to be able to decide various cases. This is true in theory; in practice the power of the Caliph, especially in later times, was divided. 4. Insight necessary for a ruler. 5. Courage to defend the empire. 6. Relationship with the family of the Quraish. This qualification is not regarded as indispensable by modern Sunni lawyers, on the ground that the Prophet never nominated any person as his successor. 7. Full age (Al-Ghazāli). It was on this ground that the chief judge refused to elect Al-Muqtadir. 8. Male sex (Al-Baidāwi). This is denied by the Khawarij who hold that a woman can be elected as Caliph.

If the candidate satisfies these conditions, the representatives of all influential families, doctors of law, high officials of the State, and commanders of the army, meet together and nominate him to the Caliphate. The whole assembly then proceeds to the mosque where the nomination

is duly confirmed by the people. In distant places representatives of the elected Caliph are permitted to receive homage on behalf of the Caliph. In the matter of election the people of the capital, however, have no precedence over other people—though, in practice, they have a certain amount of precedence, since they are naturally the first to hear of the Caliph's death. After the election, the Caliph usually makes a speech, promising to rule according to the law of Islam. Most of these speeches are preserved. It will be seen that the principle of representation is, to a certain extent, permitted in practical politics; in the law of property, however, it is expressly denied. For instance, if B. dies in the lifetime of his father A. and his brother C., leaving issue, the whole property of A. goes to C. The children of B. have no claim; they cannot represent their father, or "stand in his shoes."

From a legal standpoint, the Caliph does not occupy any privileged position. In theory, he is like other members of the Commonwealth. He can be directly sued in an ordinary law court. The second Caliph was once accused of appropriating a larger share in the spoils of war, and he had to clear his conduct before the people, by production of evidence according to the law of Islam. In his judicial capacity he is open to the criticism of every Muslim. Omar I. was severely reprimanded by an old woman who pointed out to him that his interpretation of a certain Quranic verse was absolutely wrong. The Caliph listened to her argument, and decided the case according to her views.

The Caliph may indicate his successor who may be his son; but the nomination is invalid until confirmed by the people. Out of the fourteen Caliphs of the House of Umayya only four succeeded in securing their sons as their successors. The Caliph cannot secure the election of his successor during his own lifetime. Ibn Athir tells us that Abdul Malik—the Umayya Caliph—endeavoured to do so, but Ibn Musayyib, the great Mekkan lawyer, strongly protested against the Caliph's behaviour. The Abbasi Caliph Hadi, however, succeeded in securing the election of his son Ja'far, but after his death the majority declared for Harun. In such a case, when the people declare for another Caliph, the one previously elected, must, on penalty of death, immediately renounce his right in public.

If the Caliph does not rule according to the law of Islam, or suffers from physical or mental infirmity, the Caliphate is forfeited. Usually one influential Muhammadan stands up in the mosque after the prayer, and speaks to the congregation giving reasons for the proposed deposition. He declares deposition to be the interest of Islam, and ends his speech by throwing away his finger-ring with the remark—"I reject the Caliph as I throw away this ring." The people then signify their assent in various ways, and the deposition is complete.

The question whether two or more rival Caliphates can exist simultaneously is discussed by Muslim lawyers. Ibn Jama' holds that only one Caliphate is possible. Ibn Khaldun holds that there is nothing illegal in the co-existence of two or more Caliphates, provided they are in different countries. Ibn Khaldun's view is certainly contrary to teh old Arabian idea, yet in so far as the Muslim Commonwealth is governed by an impersonal authority, *i.e.*, law, his position seems to me to be quite a tenable one. Moreover, as a matter of fact, two rival Caliphates have existed in Islam for a long time and still exist.

Just as a candinate for the Caliphate must have certain qualifications, so, according to Al-Māwardy, the elector also must be qualified. He must possess—

(1) Good reputation as an honest man (2) Necessary knowledge of State affairs. (3) Necessary insight and judgment.

In theory all Muslims, men and women, possess the right of election. There is no property qualification. In practice, however, women and slaves did not exercise this right. Some of the early lawyers seem to have recognised the danger of mass-elections as they endeavour to show that the right of election resides only in the tribe of the Prophet. Whether the seclusion of women grew up in order to make women incapable of exercising a right which in theory could not be denied to them, I cannot say.

The elector has the right to demand the deposition of the Caliph, or the dismissal of his officials if he can show that their conduct is not in accordance with the law of Islam. He can, on the subject, address the Muslim congregation in the mosque after the prayer. The mosque, it must be remembered, is the Muslim Forum, and the institution of daily prayer is closely connected with the political life of Muslim communities. Apart from its spiritual and social functions, the institution is meant to serve as a ready means of constant criticism on the State. If, however, the elector does not intend to address the congregation, he can issue a judicial inquiry concerning the conduct of any State official, or any other matter which affects the community as a whole. The judicial inquiry as a rule, does not mention the name of any individual. I quote an illustration in order to give an idea of this procedure :—

In the name of God, most merciful and clement. What is the opinion of the doctors of law, the guides of the people, on the enecouragem ent of the Zimmis, and on the assistance we can demand from them, whether as clerks to the Amirs entrusted with the administration of the country, or as collectors of taxes? . . . Explain the above by solid proofs, establish the orthodox belief by sound arguments, and give your reasons. God will reward you.

Such judicial inquiries are issued by the State as well, and when the lawyers give conflicting decisions, the majority prevails. Forced election is quite illegal. Ibn Jama', an Egyptian lawyer, however, holds that

forced election is legal in times of political unrest. This opportunist view has no support in the law of Islam; though, undoubtedly, it is based on historical facts. Tartushi—a Spanish lawyer—would probably hold the same view, for he says: "Forty years of tyranny are better than one hour of anarchy."

Let us now consider the relation between the elected and the elector. Al-Māwardy defines this relation as "Aqd"—binding together, contract. The State therefore is a contractual organism, and implies rights and duties. He does not mean, like Rousseau, to explain the origin of society by an original social contract; he holds that the actual fact of election is a contract in consequence of which the Caliph has to do certain duties, *e.g.*, to defend the religion, to enforce the law of Islam, to levy customs and taxes according to the law of Islam, to pay annual salaries and properly to direct the State treasury. If he fulfils these conditions, the people have mainly two duties in relation to him, *viz.*, to obey him, and to assist him in his work. Apart from this contract, however, Muslim lawyers have also enumerated certain cases in which obedience to the Caliph is not necessary.

The origin of the State then, according to Al-Mawardy, is not force, but free consent of individuals who unite to form a brotherhood, based upon legal equality, in order that each member of the brotherhood may work out the potentialities of his individuality under the law of Islam. Government, with him, is an artificial arrangement, and is divine only in the sense that the law of Islam—believed to have been revealed—demands peace and security.

(*To be concluded.*)

IMPERIALISM : PAST AND PRESENT.*

By An "Indian Nationalist."

THE address which Lord Cromer delivered as the president of the Classical Association, has been now published under the interesting and suggestive title of *Ancient and Modern Imperialism.* British "Imperial" statesmen are fond of comparing their empire with the greatest of the empires of antiquity, though we doubt whether the subject had been treated ever before with such thoroughness, analytical power and richness of detail. Lord Cromer compares the Imperialism of the two ages under three heads; (1) the inevitableness of conquest; (2) its methods, and (3) the benefits it conferred on the Imperial race. In both cases, British as well as Roman, says Lord Cromer, the conquering power was "impelled onwards by the imperious and irresistible necessity of acquiring defensible frontiers", though the ambition and pride of conquest, ambitious pro-consuls and commanders, and dissentions among neighbouring peoples also played their part in the expansion of the empire. The methods of conquest too had been similar,—the undaunted audacity of conquerors even in the face of overwhelming odds and the successful employment of military auxiliaries. As for the benefits derived by the conquerors, the Romans not only exacted rich tributes from their provinces but the subject people had to support many corrupt officials and many commercial adventurers. And those who have read the story of the domination of the East India Company in this country know that in these respects too, British Imperialism in its earlier days, offered a striking similarity to its classical protoype.

But to speak truly it is not so much the points of similarity as the points of contrast which are realy suggestive. And the main points of contrast are two. The first consists in what Professor Huxley called the "ethical process." Some Roman Emperors and governors may have been actuated by humanitarian motives but these motives were never made the basis of the treatment of political and social questions. As Lord Cromer very pertinently remarks :—

Even if they had the will, they certainly did not possess the soientific knowledge which would have enabled them to arrest or mitigate the cruel operations of Nature. In ancient times, famine and preventible disease must have swept millions of persons prematurely into the grave. Neither, until of recent years, when the beneficent Imperialism of modern times has been brought to bear on the subject of preserving human life, was any great improvement effeoted. The mortality during the great famine in Bengal in 1769 and subsequent years has been variously estimated at from

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* *Ancient and Modern Imperialism.* By the Earl of Cromer. (John Murray. London) 1910.

3,000,000 to "one-third of the population"—that is to say, abourt 10,000,000. We know that in quite recent times the populations of the Soudan was reduced, under the inefficiency and barbarities of Dervish rule, from over 8,500,000 to less than 2,000,000. Nowhere does the policy of modern differ more widely from that of ancient Imperialism than in dealing with matters of this sort. The modern Imperialist will not accept the decrees of Nature. He struggles manfully, and at enormous cost to resist them. In the case of disease he brings science to his aid, and, in the case of famine, his resistance is by no means ineffectual, for he has discovered that Nature will generally produce a sufficiency of food if man can arrange for its timely distribution.

All this is very true and we must frankly admit that in making humanitarain motives the basis of administrative policy and raising the prevention of famine and the eradication of disease to the dignity of the departments of State, modern Imperialism rises superior to ancient Imperialism, whether Roman or Moghal. And in this connection, we are surprised to find that Lord Cromer makes no mention of the department of education and the network of schools and colleges, which it provides for the intellectual and moral training of the people, and which in our eyes is one of its chief glories. But while admitting this, it must not be supposed that British Imperalism is based on purely philanthropic motives, and the Governments of India and Egypt are carried on by British officers merely in order to oblige the people of those countries. Britain does not exact a tribute from its dependencies like Rome and the civil servants of to-day are not employed for the commercial exploitation of the districts which they govern. Yet it must be admitted that the possession of its dependencies, confers many political, military and economic advantages on Britain. It enhances the moral prestige of the British people in the councils of Europe and, as such, is a political asset of no mean value. It provides a military reserve for imperial needs at the expense of the Indian taxpayer, and a host of appointments in the different departments of administration for the members of the British middle classes. The commercial advantages which England derives from its dependencies are two well-known to need any detailed mention. All this Lord Cromer studiously omits to mention, but an Indian writer, whose point of view is naturally different though not necessarily antagonistic, cannot help casting a glance on the other side of the picture.

The second point of contrast between modern and ancient Imperialism, is one which shows the moderns in a less favourable light. It is admitted on all hands that the Romans succeeded in assimilating the subject races, a process in which the moderns, especially the British, have woefully failed. Roman citizenship was extended to the provincials without stint and even some of the Roman Emperors were non-Romans. The Romans, says Lord Cromer, "either romanized the races who were at first their subjects and eventually their masters, or left those races to be the willing agents of their own romanization."

He has tried to explain the causes of this "apparent success", as he calls it, by showing that the Romans had to deal with tribes, that their religion was polythiestic, and that there was no bar of colour in their times. We think that the last of these is really the greatest impediment. For, on the admission of British statesmen themselves Indians do not yet form a nation, and they certainly were politically more or less in the tribal condition, when the British first came in contact with them. As for religious and social differences, we have yet to know that the relations between Anglo-Indians and "native" Christians, as they are contemptuously called, are any better than those with their non-Christian neighbours, or that the Brahmos and the Parsis who have given up the *Purdah*, fare socially any better at the hands of Anglo-Indians. The plain fact of the matter is, that it is the sheer prejudice of colour which stands in the way and religious and social differences are mentioned only to palliate it. Herein, therefore, lies the crux of the modern Imperial problem. If the subject races of the empire cannot be assimilated, then either they must be kept perpetually in subjection or allowed to fit themselves and finally receive self-government. As long as Western education did not spread among them, the problem was simple enough. Everything was to be done for the people by a paternal government, and in this task the British officers succeeded well. It is the advent of the "educated native,"—whether Indian or Egyptian—with his western ideas, his claims to equality, his ambition to take a share in the government of his own country, which has caused disturbance. How is he going to be treated, for on the treatment accorded to him and to his aspirations, depends the solution of the Imperial problem. Is he to be treated as a friend or a foe? Is the elevation of a Sinha or an Ali Imam to the Executive Council, to make the advent an Indian Alikhanoff or a modern Raja Man Singh possible? And is the expansion and the reform of the Legislative Councils to lead to self-government on the colonial model? Lord Cromer answers in the negative. He says :—

It will be well for England, better for India, and best of all for the cause of progressive civilization in general, if it be clearly understood from the outset that, however liberal may be the concessions which have now been made, and which at any future time may be made, we have not the smallest intention of abandoning our Indian possessions, and that it is highly improbable that any such intention will be entertained by our posterity. The foundation stone of Indian reform must be the steadfast maintenance of British supremacy.

The word *supremacy* is almost as elusive in meaning as the word *suzerainty*. It may mean, for instance, the supremacy which Britain exercises over Canada. In that case, we and the political school to which we belong, need not quarrel with that word. But if it means anything more than that,—and we are afraid that in the mouth of Lord Cromer it does mean much more—then we as Indians, having a firm belief in

the future of our race, refuse to acquiesce in it. To form one of the constituent parts of a self-governing federation is one thing; to be perpetually *ruled* by an alien race is another. The first can be accepted without loss of manhood and self-respect ; the latter can only mean the moral bankruptcy of our people. That we are not doing an injustice to Lord Cromer is, in our opinion, amply attested by the following words of his :—

> In this respect something of the clearness of political vision and bluntness of expression which characterized the Imperialists of Ancient Rome might, not without advantage, be imparted to our own Imperialist policy. Nations wax and wane. It may be that at some future and far distant time we shall be justified, ... in handing over the torch of progress and civilization in India to those whom we have ourselves civilized. All that can be said at present is that, *until human nature entirely changes, and until racial and religious differences disappear from the face of the earth, the* relinquishment *of that torch would almost certainly lead to its extinction.*

We draw the attention of our readers to the concluding words of this passage, which we have italicised, in order to show how national vanity and racial arrogance may colour the thoughts of even such men as Lord Cromer. He says that the Indians cannot be entrusted with the torch of progress and civilization even in their own country, until human nature entirely changes, aud until racial and religious differences disappear from the face of the earth," Could not the Roman have said the same of the Tueton ? And could not Cæsar have said the same of the Britons, when he crossed over from Gaul to chastise them for helping their kinsmen across the channel ? And yet the Tueton and the Briton are ruling to-day a vaster and a greater empire than that of Rome, though human nature has not changed and racial and religious differences have not disappeared from the face of the earth. Lord Cromer has sadly misread human nature, if he thinks that the Egyptian and the Indian can be safely treated as helots of the empire and are never to be given the rights and privileges of British citizenship. The Indian progressive party has said emphatically that the British connection is the first article of their political creed. But the creed can be accepted by them only as "King's equal subjects." Either an equal place must be found for non-European races within the empire, or British statemanship must acknowledge defeat. This is the problem which faces British statesmen to-day, on the banks of the Nile as well as the banks of the Ganges, and on its solution depends the fate of one of the most interesting experiments in the history of mankind.

HINDUISM AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

By the Rev. Edwin Greaves.

THERE are some who would dissociate the National Movement from any concern with Religion. It may be possible to dissociate it in word, but quite impossible to separate it in fact. It is a ground for thankfulness that with so many men religion is a genuine factor in their lives, and consequently all that they think and all that they do is, in a greater or lesser measure, influenced by their religious beliefs. Many there are who would take the position that religion ought to completely dominate every sphere of man's life. Is it not sound to conclude that if only a man's religion be the true religion, it must be for his good and the world's good that he should regulate his every thought and word and action by the principles which religion establishes ?

The "if" in the above paragraph is a very important "if". It is perfectly evident that if every religion as it now exists were consistently carried out to its logical issues, this world of ours might be a less desirable place of residence than it is, and all will agree that even under present conditions it is far from being perfect. Some religions seek to impose, upon their followers, principles and practices which would not only make the followers of other religions in their neighbourhood very uncomfortable, but, if fully accepted and effectively carried out by all those who profess to believe them, would bring about endless complications. If all men were to accept them they would inevitably lead to a dead-lock, indeed history might come to a speedy end. For instance, if the doctrine of the perfect life, taught by some, were universally adopted, and men dissociated themselves from all worldly concerns, how could the world's course continue ? Suppose the vow of celibacy were generally adopted, (another doctrine of perfection,) the result must be that in a generation there must be the termination of human life with all its weal and woe.

The true religion must necessarily be that which is not spun out of man's imagination, but the religion appointed by God ; and being so, must not only direct men in their loyalties to God, but guide them in their relations to one another, to the mutual well- being and happiness of all. Such a religion would, of course, recognise and demand that although the fundamental moral relations and obligations should be quite universal, yet all lives need not be lived in the same exact groove. One man may serve his God and his race as well by being a merchant, as another by being a teacher and preacher. The true saint may be found building bridges as well as occupying a solitary cell in a monastery or on the mountain side. Religious observances, let it be noted, are not religion ; at their very best they are but aids for the cultivation and maintenance of religion. Religion

is *life* in its entirety, it is beliefs and convictions in the practice of daily life, and not creeds in the abstract, and the rites of the sanctuary. Religion means to know God and to obey Him; and it is perfectly clear that if we all knew Him, and faithfully obeyed Him, the whole course of the world would work smoothly and harmoniously, all that could be hoped for and expected under present conditions would be realized.

But other matters demand consideration. Many questions must be faced, if we are to take a broad view of the real situation. We must ask :—What are the essential principles which should regulate men in social life? We should seek to gauge existing difficulties, to grasp the real end in view, and the necessary conditions for the realization of that end.

What, in broad outline, does the National Movement set before itself as its goal? It is quite clear that there are two goals included in the term. Some may contend that the two are, if not actually identical, necessarily involved in one another. Others would maintain that though they *may* be related, yet they are by no means necessarily so, but are distinct in their essence, and may even be worked out separately. The one is political, the second may be called, for want of a more distinguishing word, social.

The first concerns itself with the question of government, and with some few, resolves itself into the question :— Shall an alien government hold the seat of authority, or shall the government be indigenous and independent of any alien sway or authoritative dictation? The writer would not seek to minimise the importance of this question, but it is not the *only* question with which the National Movement has to deal.

The second question, which is of more general importance, and not necessarily bound up with the first, has to do with the absorption and conversion of all local and racial interests into those gathered round a common centre, the nation. This is the real *end* of the National Movement in its essential meaning and scope. Forms of goverment are simply the means for the realization of this end. With the political question I do not venture to deal. It is of permanent interest and importance, and the time may come when the problem will have to be faced in all its widest bearings. When the day does come, it is hoped that men may be found able to approach it in the very broadest and most generous spirit, free from prejudice, and intent on reaching conclusions which are just and right, no matter what supposed national rights and interests are sacrificed.

But this question of government is not the chief and essential factor in the ideal of a national life for India. The question, *par excellence*, is this :— The unification of the various nationalities of India into one great nation,— to convert the name "India" from a geographical term, signifying a certain vast extent of land, into a term standing for great masses of men and

women welded into a nation, a corporate body with common interests and common ideals. That India is not a nation at present is a fact too patent to need discussion. Whatever our hopes and anticipations for the future may be, the facts of the present are self-evident and cannot be denied. India is not a nation, but a name including many races and peoples. Many millions of the people enjoy their measure of national unities under the rulers of the numerous Native States, though even then it is open to very grave doubt whether their grouping under the dominion of a single ruler constitutes them a nation, in the highest meaning of that term. The remaining millions find their only approach to unity by their inclusion under the centralized government of a British monarch. The well-nigh innumerable nationalities of India have no other unity, or rather unities, than those just specified. They have their own national characteristics and languages and interests, and, it must be allowed, are, generally speaking, more anxious to secure their own interests than to seek the common interests of those who are, in so many ways, separated from them. It must be sadly admitted that among possibly nine-tenths of the people no ideal of an Indian nation, embracing all classes and races and creeds throughout the whole vast continent, has ever dawned. They do not oppose the idea, they are not enthused by it, it is simply that the conception has never entered into their comprehension. Probably if the conception could be made intelligible to them they would manifest no desire to see the various interests of the numerous peoples thrown into one common melting-pot with a view to promoting one great mass of national interests for all the peoples of India. They would possibly feel that in the process some of their own interests might be sacrificed for the general good, and they might hesitate to surrender themselves to the sacrifice.

All unifications of this kind demand compromises which only men of broad minds and generous impulses can cheerfully contemplate. It is easy to fling our silver into the common melting-pot when most of our neighbours are casting in their gold, but when we see little but copper and brass going in we are somewhat tempted to hold our hand. An amalgam of gold and silver is better than our silver, but when we see only our chance to an alloy in which brass may greatly predominate, we are disposed to stick to our silver. The illustration is but a rough one, but a national India will mean sacrifice of authority and dignity to not a few; we must not only look forward to sharing the honours and privileges of our social superiors but sharing our own also with those whom we have been disposed to regard as our inferiors. In the process of the nationalization of India, there will be much of *giving* as well as of *taking* for very many.

It is hoped, however, that in the National Movement the past indifference to the widest interests of the peoples as a whole are being

gradually broken down. Not a few are not only possessed of glorious hopes about the future in their own minds, but they are eager to influence others and to inspire them with their own high enthusiasms. They aim at so broadening the sympathies of the entire people that they may be obsessed with the feeling of common kinship with all who belong to India ; they seek to animate them with the desire to let this feeling take practical shape by identifying the interests of others with their own ; they strive to promote such a sense of organic unity that from north to south, and from east to west, local and petty motive-powers and selfish interests may be merged in a common loyalty to India as a whole, and that thus " India " may become a watchword stirring up feelings of patriotism, and displacing, and replacing, class feeling and race prejudices and other narrower groupings of interests.

Such a dream of a United India is certainly one to arouse the enthusiasm of all whose outlook is broad and whose sympathies are wide. To some it may appear as very dreamy and visionary, but the vision is worth fostering, and its realization worth striving and working for. It involves the demolition of pride and selfishness, of class feuds and religious bigotries, of the exclusiveness of caste and the domination of wealth and brute force. It does not mean, of course, the equality of all, in the sense that all men will be equal in every respect. It does not look forward to the enthronement of a form of Socialism under which private property could not be held, and under which birth and worth should count for nothing. Any such socialism as this spells anarchy and is the high-road to chaos. But such a unity is desired as shall secure for all classes of men, and for all men of those classes, common rights, which shall be recognized as rights and not as privileges. Birth shall not be a barrier to progress, and opportunity shall be afforded to all and not reserved for the few. An Indian nation should mean liberty and freedom for all, so far as such liberty and freedom are not used to curtail the freedom and liberty of all others. Not the liberty to do as each one likes, but the liberty which means security against the tyranny of others. It means that each man, because he is a man, and not because he belongs to this or that class, has his rights as a member of the great community, and that the community is pledged to regard him as a brother, to acknowledge his right to its consideration, to respect him, no matter what his estate, and to seek his good. These considerations, of course, also involve the man himself in duties towards the community, which he must be equally careful to discharge.

Three points invite consideration in connextion with this vision of a united India. 1. Can it be brought about by legislation ? Most certainly not. 2. So far as legislation may be of service in the matter it rests upon the possibility of the great majority of the people

being inspired with the loftiest principles of righteousness, with the passion for the realization of this unity. Legislation to be of any abiding strength and service must reflect the wishes of the majority of the people. 3. The importance of this aspect of the question must be considered in its relation to the growing desire that representation may play a more effective part in the government of the country. Representation can only be for the good of the country when those who are represented have sound judgment and national aspirations steeped in righteousness and generous sentiment.

We now come to another phase of our subject. We would institute the enquiry :—Is Hinduism, with which, perhaps, mainly, the National Movement is more closely associated,—is Hinduism, by its general spirit and organization, calculated to foster, furthur and develope this National Movement ? It may be asked hy some :—What have Hinduism and the National Movement to do with one another ? If our thoughts were being directed to the purely political aspect of the question, this objection might have some force. Religion does not *directly* affect politics, though it should do so *indirectly*, most powerfully. But we are considering the non-political character of the National Movement,—the aim at uniting the various races and peoples of India, by sympathy and mutual regard, into one great Indian nation. Here surely, Religion must be a factor of tremendous weight. We are not dealing with rules and regulations for guarding the rights and liberties of all, which is a question for legislation, but of the birth and growth in the hearts of the masses of a sense of kinship, of the discovery of vital relationships sanctioned by the inheritance of a common motherland, and by descent from ancestries more or less closely related. It cannot for a moment be questioned that in evoking such a spirit of brotherhood Religion must exercise, one way or the other, a very strong influence. Men's relations to one another must be vastly influenced by their conceptions of what those relations really are, and those conceptions, again, will assume their specific character by what is taught in the religion they follow about God's relationship to them, and the purpose which He had in view in appointing them their residence upon the earth. The religion which concerns itself only with a man's relation to his God, and to the future which lies beyond the grave, and which has nothing to say about the present life and social privileges and reponsibilities, is a religion which will hardly arouse the enthusiasm of many in the twentieth century, deeply concerned as it is with social problems. It certainly could not claim attention in connexion with our present subject, which is so closely identified with man's life upon the earth and his relations and dealings with his fellowmen. Has, then, Hinduism any living and inspiring message for men as regards this new National Movement in India, this endeavour to unite into one great brotherhood all the peoples of India ?

Clearly India has accomplished wonders in the organization of its own communities. It is certainly a highly organized system, though even in its own borders brotherhood is not its distinctive and characteristic note. The caste system has effectively emphasised and perpetuated the divisions which exist ; it has marked off class from class in a drastic manner. It has not only divided the peoples but differentiated them in a blatantly offensive way. There are men at one end of the social grades regarded as deities, while at the other are men and women looked upon as so degraded that their very touch involves pollution. This differentiation does not rest on moral, or even, intellectual differences, but is one based on birth, and so rigid that it cannot in any way be overcome. Apart from these extreme differences there are innumerable others, which though not ivolving the same marked ineqalities of status and privilege, are yet separative to the last degree. Distinctions which make inter-marriage and inter-dining impossible are far removed from conditions which imply brotherhood.

There is perhaps no clearer indication of the broadening influence of the evolving national consciousness than the altered attitude of many to the question of the treatment of the depressed classes. For a time the plea to treat these classes better appeared to rest on self-interest. It was indicated that unless a different attitude were adopted towards these classes they would inevitably turn to those who would manifest a a more humane attitude towards them, and accord them the opportunity of taking a higher social status ; to Christians and Mohammedans, with whom no such religious exclusiveness as prevails among Hindus would claim divine sanction. It was felt that these classess might be lost to the Hindu community and thus that loss to Hinduism would ensue. But more recently a far more humane spirit is asserting itself, a conscience is being born about the matter, and Hindus are confessing that in the past they have been guilty of grave injustice in their treatment of the depressed classes, that reparation must be made and their position improved. All honour to those who have so bravely lifted up their voices on this question, and who are nobly working to make their plea effective.

Vastly important as the caste system is in its bearing on the National Movement, it is by no means the only aspect of Hinduism which presses for consideration in connexion with the subject we are discussing. Let one or two of the principal points be touched on, which, in the writer's estimate, have a very distinct bearing on the National Movement, and indicate that Hinduism must be very greatly modified, or replaced by something else, if the National Movement is to possess a religious basis and sanction. And many will rest assured that only a movement inspired by a religious motive and incentive can reach a glorious consummation.

1. The ideal of the perfect human life fostered, in general, by Hinduism is opposed to the root ideas of the National Movement. It is true that in spite of the standard which has been set for the ideal religious life, the attempt has always been made, but how inconsistently, to find room in the religious world for the ordinary man. It has necessarily been felt that for all men to become religious devotees would turn the world topsy turvy and make things unworkable; it would make the lives of Brahmans and existing devotees unbearable if all were to become devotees. Accordingly it has been declared that there is virtue in the ordinary life of the husbandman and craftsman and tradesman, if only religious rites be observed from time to time, and sufficient liberality manifested towards those who pursue the true religious life, or belong to the sacred caste. But it must be allowed that though an attempt is thus made to find room within the pale for these useful classes in the community, their place is unquestionably a lower one than is accorded to the essentially "religious." Their life is, in its essential character, the worldly life, in part atoned for by their charitable gifts and their obedience to their religious superiors, but regarded as altogether on a lower plane than the life of the essentially religious devotee. Such worldly ones are, so to speak, muddling on through life, possibly getting just a notch higher in the transmigration series, but certainly not living the ideal life; they are of the world worldly. In other words, taking the Vedantic conception, men may be divided into two classes :—1. Those who are realizing the only right issue of life, i. e., renouncing an unreal world so that they may be united with the one reality. 2. Those who are entangled in an unreal world, and are "moithering" amid things which are of no real worth, and find no place in the realm of the alone real and divine. It is worthy of note also that the Vedantic conception of the "samsara" or round of life has largely pervaded the underlying assumptions which tone and mould the con ceptions of the ascetic life advocated by many of the reformed sects. Is it not evident that any such theory of the universe as this cannot be a satisfactory basis on which to work out the ideals for national life which are under discussion? Men need, as an inspiration in attempting great reforms, the assurance that they are working in a world which has a divine meaning and purpose, that they are seeking to infuse a higher spirit and order into a world which is of eternal significance in the destiny of man. Why should we bother about a world which is undivine, towards which man's only duty is to escape from it?

2. Closely associated with a theory of the universe is the conception of God. A transcendent God who is not, strictly speaking, related to the world at all, who is neither its true creator nor its preserver, and who has no high destiny and purpose for man in it, cannot be looked to

for guidance and strength in any plans for ameliorationg its wrongs and furthering its progress.

It is true that various views prevail among Hindus on these subjects, and it may be that many of the most earnest Indian reformers who are, at the same time, Vedantists, are guilty of inconsistencies of thought for which they are to be commended; for it is better to be swayed by lofty inspirations which carry with them the credentials of their divine source, than to be trammelled by a conventional creed which though nominally accepted has not really possessd the heart and mind. Another point worthy of notice is this, that the Vedantism of many has undergone great modifications during recent years. The causes and sources of those causes, need not now be discussed, but it is undoubtedly the case that many are adopting a form of Vedantism in which far more theistic conceptions of God and His relation to the world prevail than was the fashion before recent movements gathered strength. There are others, again, who probably hold themselves aloof from any open statement of their religious views. Possibly with some, religion does not loom large in their minds and lives. They may not profess Agnosticism, but if pressed to asssert themselves would possibly take that position.

Whatever form of Hinduism be adopted, it will be allowed, perhaps, that Hinduism has no such clear conception of God in his relation to the world as to justify the reformers in any conviction that they are working in accordance with the will and purpose of the Most High The title "Most High" is used advisedly, for some take the position that the world is presided over by an "Ishwara," but that this Ishwara is, essentally, as unreal as the world he presides over. To work for an unreal world, impelled by an unreal god, is not the inspiration we need. We need inspiration of, not *a* god but, THE GOD, the Most High.

Here, again, possibly we are met by happy inconsistencies on the part of some reformers. They are Vedantists in the study, they are, practically, sturdy theists when they get to their work. They could not retain their interest in the world if they lived under the conviction that it is outside the divine.

3. Apart from the relationships of the various communities more or less within the pale of Hinduism, what has Hinduism to say concerning the relations of Hindus to men of other nations and creeds? So far as the writer knows the modern attitude of Hindus towards others is not the outcome of any direct and specific teachings of Hinduism, but largely the outcome of contact with men of broad minds and wide sympathies outside the pale of Hinduism, fortified by the sound commonsense, and large-hearted views of life which they themselves held. Here, again, are grounds for thankfulness. Speaking from experience I venture the statement that very many Hindus do enter into very broad

generous relations with many who are separated from them as regards race and creed. But such is not the outcome of Hinduism, but rather in spite of Hinduism. Hinduism, in itself, cultivates no open mind for appreciating the worth of other peoples and creeds. It is true that wide liberty of thought, (though not of social usage) is tolerated by Hinduism, but there is not, appearently, any contemplation of intercourse and fellowship with other peoples. Hinduism is not a persecuting religion as regards those without who differ trom her, (though she is very intolerant of those from her own community who outwardly embrace another faith,) but she is distinctly exclusive in principle, and has no place for the participation of Hindus in any organization which is not covered by Hinduism. In this whole matter, however, it is most thankfully recognized that though there is nothing in the teachings of official Hinduism to encourage fellowship and nationalization with those of alien creeds, yet there is no violent teaching against it, and Hindus themselves are disposed to take very generous views on the matter, not because they are loyal to their Hinduism but because they have outgrown some of the traditions of the past.

Endeavonring to take a broad review of the whole situation is it not the case that the National Movement finds no great inspiration, or even justification, from Hinduism? Rather, as regards the general teaching on conceptions of God and the universe, as regards also the caste system, the attitude of the strict towards those of other races and faiths, is there not much very inconsistent with the broad features of the National Movement, and with its great essentials? If the enthusiasm for the National Movement is to be maintained, how will it affect Hinduism? Will it be modified? Will it be replaced by any other religion? Or, will the attempt be made to separate the National Movement from religion regarding the latter as belonging only to a special department of life and not as vital, pervasive, and dominant in the whole life? If the latter, the movement will lose religious support and inspiration.

This article has been written from only one standpoint, that of the relation of the National Movement to Hinduism, Of course there are other very important standpoints. If the Movement is to become effective there are other besides Hindus to be considered. There is the large question as to how far peoples of different races and different religions can be welded into one great nation. There may be an outward unity of organization effected, but can the deepest and widest union really come about? We must admit that if we are to understand our brotherhood we must believe that there is one God and Father of us all. The question is left with each reader:—Has the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man been ever so taught and so lived as by Him who was called the "Son of Man" and the "Son of God", thus linking earth with heaven, men to God, and men to one another?

older age triumphed over his enemies and obtained earthly honours in addition to his soul's salvation.

His leanings towards Christianity drove the Prince from the palace in which he was born and in which he resided with his brother after the latter became ruler of the State in his father's place, and his final acceptance of Christ completely estranged him from Kapurthala. When he was nine years old, the late Rev. J. S. Woodside, of the American Presbyterian Mission, who had settled in Kapurthala, was appointed to act as his tutor. From him the Kunwar learned English. Even though the missionary taught him for only four years, he was able to saturate the young boy's mind with Christian teachings. Within two years of the ascension of Kharak Singh to the throne, Kunwar Harnam Singh left Kapurthala, unable to pull along with his brother, the Rajah, one important cause of the trouble, it is said, being the Prince's sympathy for Christianity. He proceeded at once to Jullundhur—but a few miles distant from his brother's capital—to which place he was attracted by the presence of a missionary, the late Rev. Golaknath, whom he previously had met. It took the young Prince but a comparatively short time finally to make up his mind to accept Christianity. He was baptized by his friend, Rev. Golaknath, and in 1875 married the missionary's youngest daughter. Thus Kunwar Harnam Singh once for all burned the bridges between himself and his State.

Being gifted with rare intelligence, the Prince made up his mind to devote his efforts to the improvement of his intellectual equipment. He knew a little English, and was a scholar in Persian, and his native vernacular, Panjabee. He resolved not to be contented until he had succeeded in acquiring as thorough a western culture as he possibly could, through self-study. Thanks to his early assiduous work, to-day Rajah Sir Harnam Singh fluently speaks faultless English. He always has remained faithful to his native costume—the flowing robes, tight-fitting pyjamas and puggree—but so far as western enlightenment goes, there are few Indians who are his peer, much less his superior. In his case, Christianity not only has not meant denationalization, as very often it is apt to do, but he sedulously has sought to preserve in himself all the old-fashioned wisdom that was worth doing so; while, discarding only such of the ways of his fathers as he considred hindrance to true progress.

It is but natural that a man of his superior intelligence sooner or later would work himself out of the sore situation in which, from a worldly point of view, his conversion had thrust him. His brother died within seven years of coming into power, and in 1877 the local government of the Panjab appointed him to act as manager of the Oudh Estates, which really are more valuable than Kapurthala State itself, having been given to Rajah Randhir Singh as a perpetual grant for the invaluable service he had rendered the British in the dire days of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. The Kunwar remained in this position for eighteen years. Under his management, the Estates made great progress. The income was more than doubled in half a generation, increasing from an annual rental of about Rs. 4 50,000 to Rs. 11,50,000. Under his inspiration, the property was improved by the building of metalled roads, the construction of bridges, the encouragement and extension of arboriculture, the conservation of the forest reserves, and the erection of many public works of utility. He added to the comfort of the tenants by providing for them dispensaries and schools.

Besides acting as manager of the Oudh Estates, the Prince did invaluable work as a member of the Hemp Drugs Commission in 1893-94, as Honorary Secretary of the British India Association of Talukdars of Oudh, as Honorary Magistrate, and as a Fellow of the Panjab University. He served as a nominated additional member of the Imperial and the Panjab Legislative Councils, in both bodies showing much independence of thought and breadth of character. Although only a nominated member, he opposed the Government "Land Alienation Bill" in the Imperial Council. He has served on many official committees of investigation, always rendering valuable help.

Rajah Sir Harnam Singh attended the Coronation of King Edward as His Late Majesty's guest. The Government knighted him in 1899, and created him Rajah in 1907. He has thus lived to see himself honoured by all who know him and loved by orthodox Sikhs and Hindus, who esteem him for his gentlemanliness, democratic spirit and saintly character.

Through the earlier years of trial and poverty, and during the present time of triumph, the Rani, Lady Harnam Singh, has been a faithful friend and comforter, and a helpful adviser. She is gentle-mannered and intelligent—one of the best educated women in India. She ever is devising means to help to emancipate her country-women. Her philanthropy goes hand in hand with her symp-

athy. She gives a great portion of her time and money to charitable works, for the most part in connection with the Christian missions in India. She rendered valuable help to Marchioness Dufferin in starting the Dufferin Fund.

Seven sons and one daughter have blessed the union of the Rajah and Rani, all of them, except one son, living. The Rajah has provided a splendid education for all of them, sending every one of them, including his daughter, to England for schooling. Three of his sons have been called to the English Bar. Two of these three, however, are employed in Government service and one shortly will begin practising as a Barrister. Another son is in the Indian Medical service. The rest are still receiving their education. The Rajah's second son is married to an English woman. Miss Harnam Singh is a charming young woman, possessing the ideal balance of femininity and strength of mind that marks the intelligent, cultured woman of to-day. She being unmarried, lives at home with her parents.

The career of the Rajah forcefully reminds one of the Prince who came to Christ to ask the way to eternal life. Jesus commanded him to sell all he had and give to the poor ; but the young man lacked the courage of his convictions and sought an easier way to save his soul. Rajah Sir Harnam Singh took Christ literally, and set about at once to forsake the treasures of earth and lay up for himself treasures in heaven. By so doing he not only has gained for himself the Kingdom of God, but he has enthroned himself in the hearts of the people as a man amongst men, a faithful friend, a king at heart, even if he is without an earthly throne.

NATIONAL LIFE AND NATIONAL CHARACTER.

By Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee, Bar-at-Law.

To-day all over the world we hear much of nationalism. In India, for the past three or four years, the subject has come very prominently before the public and much has been written and spoken with regard to it. And as, alas !, is the fate of so many noble conceptions in modern India, its name has become a catchword, and we are apt to be content with its mere sound instead of reflecting what in reality it means and how it is to be sought for and obtained. There comes a period in the history of every country when the rights of men are prominently discussed before the public, and it is inevitable in such discussions that too much emphasis is laid on man's rights and too little on his duties. The rights will be established if the duties are performed, but if duties are neglected there can and will be no rights. Before we are in any way fit to arrogate to ourselves the holy name of nationalists, we must form in our minds some conception of what national life means and upon what it depends. The study of nationalism is especially incumbent upon the youth of a nation, for though older and wiser heads must direct and control yet, as Lord Beaconsfield said of other times and places, we live in an age when to be young and to be indifferent can be no longer synonymous. We must prepare for the coming hour. The claims of the future are represented by suffering millions and the youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity. Plato compared the State to the individual and the comparison will help us if we reverse his process in this instance and reason from the individual to the nation. There are certain characteristics that are common to both, for man collectively, with all deference to theories of political philosophers such as Hobbes, is not so very different from man individually. What goes to make a man what he is? His environment and circumstances to some extent, but most of all what we are accustomed to call his character. Character depends very largely on the beliefs that inspire a man. That is to say beliefs not necessarily in any form of religion or dogma, but certain guiding principles by which he directs his life. When we seek to find out what makes a great character, instinct helps us more than reasoning. We instinctively feel a man to be good or the

reverse without being able definitely to account for such feeling. But we know that to be good his character must be guided by what we call high and noble principles. So in a nation; for it to be of good character its people must be guided by high and noble principles both indivdually and collectively. You cannot build a good house out of bad bricks, nor can you build a good nation out of bad people. And as a house that is built on a firm foundation withstands the buffets of rain and wind whereas a house built on sand succumbs to the first shock, so a nation to endure must rest on the firmest and surest foundations of justice and honours. In Pindar's poems we are told that justice is the secure foundation of cities and its sisters are good discipline and peace while all three are guardians of wealth for men. Plato in his ideal state shows us how justice is that which controls and harmonises all the various elements. By justice in these instances is meant something akin to what we understand by character History presents to us in one unending tale the fate of nations which have fallen from their ideals. All great nations have declined and fallen as soon as the character of their citizens declined and fell. If one wishes this point to be borne in upon one—one has only to read the history of Athens and Rome.

On the other hand, the power of faith is well illustrated. Christianity began amongst a few poor fishermen and yet the firm belief of its devotees and the undying faith and courage of its martyrs conquered the whole of the western world. So too the Moslem power, when its beliefs were fresh and Moslems were true to themselves, extended its dominion right into the heart of Spain and along the Northern Coasts of Africa. Those nations that came in on the full tide of conquest, such as the Goths and the Huns, formed of themselves no nations because though warriors their citizens were rude and uncultured and had not developed their character. Recently in America, James Bryce, the English Ambassador at Washington, delivered a series of lectures on what he called the hindrance to good citizenship. One cannot resist quoting from him. Speaking of the educated classes of the nation, he says, "such a class ought to set a high standard. When it or any considerable part of it sets a low standard and admits or tolerates in public life, motives and methods which would be condemned in private life, it depraves the morality of the community and thus the stream is poisoned at its source and politics are defiled and debased, selfishness

and trickery are taken to be natural and public life becomes the hunting ground of unscrupulous reckless men . . . Once the moral standard is allowed to sink the task of restoring it becomes a hard task, harder than that of rousing a people from indolent indifference, for a national crisis, a real issue which comes suddenly and thrills all hearts may do this. While moral decay eating into the national character, destroys the very sentiments to which the reformer has to appeal a nation may be stirred to splendid efforts by themes of conquest or by the need of self-defence and yet remain the prey of sordid interests." And again he says: "Every new generation as it comes up can make the traditions which it finds better or worse. If its imagination is touched and its emotions stirred by all that is finest in the history of its country it learns to live up to the ideals set before it and thus it strengthens the best standards of conduct it has inherited and prolongs the reverence felt for them."

In dealing with a subject such as this one must be didactic and, I am afraid, full of platitude. If one shelters oneself behind the authority of great names it is because their words can convey to the reader much more forcibly the ideas which I am endeavouring to suggest herein. What is it that makes a man good, what is it that makes life worth being called life? For before we set ourselves the task of controlling or being part of a nation we must be sure in our own minds that we know how we mean to direct our own lives and that we have an ideal of life which is worth possessing. We cannot neglect in considering the prosperity which we hope to obtain for our nation, the old command: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and all these things shall be added unto you." Nor can we fail to realise how important it is that each and all of us who are members of a nation should perfect the nation by perfecting ourselves before we wish to improve and educate others. At the time each nation has started on its downward path there have not been wanting prophets to warn its citizens that it is their own character which is dragging their nation down. Demosthenes thundered to a laughing Athenian audience who rushed headlong to their doom—the prophets of Israel denounced to unwilling ears the degradation that must ensue to Israel when the Israelites gave up their old and clean belief for the baser and more unworthy traditions of the nations that surrounded them. Rome, when its principal men could leave the plough to become dictator of the city and leave the

dictatorship to go back to the plough, was fit to be mistress of the world. When old beliefs and old traditions had died and were not replaced by new and better beliefs but by luxury immorality and sloth the Roman Empire declined and fell. For warnings of this nature we need not go to other countries. What does Arjun say in the Bhagavadgita. "When race declines its eternal canons of righteousness also do decline; when righteousness declines irreligion rampant doth prevail." It may be that cynical cleverness in its statesmen or citizens and far-seeing astuteness may advance the cause of their nation to what seems great heights. But such cannot last long. An American poet has put this very forcibly in homely language—

> Old Uncles S, seys he, "I guess,
> God's price is high" seys he
> But nothing else than what he sells wears long.

For as Mommsen has said the shrewdest lie feels itself inwardly annihilated before the simple truth and all the dignity and glory of human nature ultimately depend not on shrewdness but on honesty. If we wish for a great nation what sort of characters must we expect from those who go to make it up? Is it possible to form a great nation of men who are concerned only with their own pleasures? Can men whose whole heart and soul is engaged in the task of adding wealth to wealth care for the fate of others than themselves save in a perfunctory or selfish manner? If we wish to have a great nation, its citizens must be great and we shall help towards forming a great nation far more by improving ourselves so as to be worthy of one than by taking in vain the sacred names of freedom and nationalism. Can our nation be successful if we are ourselves slothful? Can our nation fulfil a noble task towards the world if we are mean and base? Can our nation ever be happy if we neglect consistently all that goes to make a home happy? Patriotism is one of the great things of the world and we can only be patriots in the best sense of the term by improving ourselves, so that by example and precept we can improve our fellow men. All the wonderful inventions of science, all the mighty power of money, all the intricacies of statesmanship cannot save a nation that has no character. How is the nation to have character if we lack it ourselves. And just because the world is dark and full of pitfalls we need some lights to guide us. These lights, our beliefs whatever they be, provide for us, and as all our great thinkers in this wonderful land of contemplation, whose old

traditions and history make our heart fill with pride and our blood run quicker in veins, have told us, it is by the things of the spirit and not by the things of the body that we must rule our lives fore 'things seen are but temporal, things unseen are eternal.' What are the qualities that go to make up a good man and a good citizen, for it is only from good men and good citizens that nations can attain to greatness. Will we not expect the good citizen, if I may quote from another American author, to love justice, to long for the light, to love mercy, to pity the suffering, to assist the weak, to forget wrongs and remember benefits, to love the truth, to be sincere, to utter honest words, to love liberty, to wage relentless war against slavery in all its forms, to love wife and child and friend, to make a happy home, to love the beautiful in art and in nature, to cultivate the mind, to be familiar with the mighty thoughts that genius has expressed, the noble deeds of all the world, to cultivate courage and cheerfulness, to make others happy, to fill life with the splendour of generous acts, the warmth of loving words, to discard error, to destroy prejudice, to receive new truths with gladness, to cultivate hope, to see the calm beyond the storm, the dawn beyond the night, to do the best that can be done and then be resigned.

I do not propose to weary the reader by dilating on this subject. Only we are tempted at times to think that all these qualities come by chance whereas they are only acquired and retained by long and laborious struggles, and we are apt to forget that national life and national character depends much on individual life and individual character. And it is just those nations whose citizens are patriotic in the way I have endeavoured to describe that can repeat to their country the lines :—

> What words divine of lover or of poet
> Could tell our love and make thee know it
> Among the nations bright beyond compare
> What were our lives without thee.
>
> What all our lives to save thee
> We reck not what we gave thee
> We will not dare to doubt thee
> But ask whatever else and we will dare.

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Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P. on " The Critical Faculty.* "

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.*

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD ON THE AWAKENING OF INDIA.

By Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe.

MORE than one English Conservative newspaper, in reviewing *The Awakening of India*, has said or hinted that it is exactly the kind of book to be expected from a Radical member of Parliament, after a tour of six weeks in the country. If that is so, the remark implies a high compliment to the ability of Radical members, for there can be no dispute as to the excellence of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's record of his visit. It is, of course, only a rapid survey, necessarily incomplete ; but it gives an account, an intelligent and impartial account, of present-day political India, together with an interesting description and criticism of Indian Nationalism and its various forms of expression. The author holds no brief for either Nationalist or non-Nationalist ; he is prepared to criticise either or both, while in relation to the bureaucracy he adopts an attitude of sympathetic irony.

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* *The Awakening of India.* By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P. (Hodder and Stoughton, London.) 1910. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* nett.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his wife came out to India in the autumn of 1909. They visited Baroda and Rajputana, went through the Panjab and up to the Khyber, stayed with the Commander-in-Chief at Simla, and then made their way down to Calcutta. A few days only after their arrival in the capital, news arrived of the dissolution of Parliament, and they returned to England immediately for the general election. The substance of the book, now published, appeared as a series of articles in the *Daily Chronicle*, and much of it is already known to Indian readers, through extracts in the Indian press. The book also contains two short but interesting chapters on Indian women written by Mrs. MacDonald.

What is Mr. Mac Donald's general position? It is a position of full sympathy with the spirit and activity of the Indian reform party, though of disagreement with some things in that party's programme. When he came to examine his impressions, Mr. MacDonald found that he was in a camp almost by himself:—

The reason being, I think, that I went out with the ideas of modern collectivism in my mind. Whilst these made me welcome the more political side of Indian Nationalism, they forbade my sympathizing with some of its economic demands, such such as Protection and the Permanent Settlement found in Bengal. I thus at one moment take my place with one bed-fellow and at the next am with another.

In regard also to the vexed question of the poverty of the Indian people, Mr. MacDonald takes a middle view. The appalling poverty of the masses depresses him, as it has depressed every humane observer for generations, and he is persuaded that all those working for fixed salaries or fees, all traders carrying on business in old ways, and the middle classes, who do not engage in trade, are becoming relatively poorer. The business man who adopts new methods, and who is fitting himself into the mechanism of the export trade, is becoming richer. Mr. MacDonald distrusts the alleged evidence of growing prosperity among the people—such, for example, as the wearing of shoes and better clothes, the use of umbrellas, the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes. These things, he argues, no more show prosperity than do expensive weddings or extravagant funerals. His general conclusion is thus summarized:—

That India is rapidly becoming richer as a whole; that a comparatively rich class is being formed of bankers, millowners, and landlords, the majority of whom are Hindus of the merchant castes but with a stong representation of Parsees, Jains, and other special sections of the Indian community; that economic rent is increasing; that the aristocracy and members of the old trading and

middle class are being reduced; that the cultivator is being divided, and at one end is becoming better-to-do, at the other worse off; that the industrial population which either has land but supplements its income in factories, or has no land at all and has to live solely on wages, is for the time being, slightly improving its position, but is gradually drifting into the same position as the European industrial population; that, after an interval when the demand for labour will be not less than the supply, and when an appreciable percentage of the labour employed in the mills will be independent because it has other sources of income—in this case the land—the labourer will find himself in a weaker position, and will be protected only by such trade combinations as he can in the meantime create * * * * Thus, the great transformation deliberately desired and striven for by the the Western minds, who have been squeezing India into Western moulds, comes upon India—certainly not for its final benefit.

The Anglo-Indian official at work provokes Mr. MacDonald to both sympathy and satire. He is ready to concede that the civilian has "more than the average amount of virtue;" but he is sensitive and introspective, for he suffers from fever and exile; he is plagued by the House of Commons on the one side, and the educated Indians on the other. "Pursuing his way alone, as he has so often to do, through this weary land, his mind never shifts from his work, his thoughts never turn from his honesty". "His Government pays handsomely for a daily supply to him of home news, which is both prejudiced and inaccurate, and appears to be designed to upset his nerves." He worships efficiency and prestige, and tends to become a thing apart, "a Rajah who is convinced that his ancestor was a moon or a sun or other respectable deity." But,

as a matter of simple and sober fact, he is only a good average Englishman, with remarkably little knowledge of the world and of what is going on in it, with an honest, bluff sense of justice, a real desire to do his work well * * * A little more sympathy with the West from which he came would help him in his trials; but as it is he is in India but not of it, of the West but not in it.

Mr. MacDonald, in a later chapter, endeavours to get at the facts relating to the undoubted widening of the gulf between the official caste and the people, and he gives a number of illustrative examples which should be seriously pondered at Simla and elsewhere. He affirms that "the greatest of all the delusions under which our officials live is that, whilst they are distrusted by the professional and educated classes, they are regarded by the uneducated villagers as their friends and protectors". But, on the other hand, he has been with officers "whose arrival in a village was the signal of demonstrations of delight, and whose coming to a house was passed round by overjoyed servants, from sweepers to cooks, who all contrived to pay personal respects. These are the mainstays of our rule in India."

I need not dwell upon the pages in which Mr. MacDonald presents his view of the political movement. He read, of course, Indian newspapers and much besides, including a good deal of the literature of Nationalism ; he talked with the leaders, especially in Lahore and Calcutta, and he formed very definite opinions with regard to the effects of the Councils Act, the possibilities of reformed Councils, the unwisdom and unworkable nature of the existing regulations. He writes of the Hindu-Mahomedan question with understanding, and in asking whither all these things are tending, he admits the many and great obstacles which stand in the way of a united India. He thinks it easy to exaggerate the political influence of the separation of races, and even the separation of castes and creeds. But he recognises that the rivalries and jealousies of Mahomedan and Hindu are serious and have lately been accentuated, that the position of Native Princes would be a difficulty, and that the reform parties are not divergent in aims as well as in method. On the whole, he concludes, the future may be regarded as belonging to Nationalism ; but "for many a long year British sovereignty will be necessary for India, for the warring elements in Indian life need a unifying and controlling power."

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.*

A FRENCH PUBLICIST ON MODERN INDIA.—II*

By "L. R."

IN the issue of the *Hindustan Review* for July last, we made a critical appraisement of M. Chailley's book and discussed his views on social and religious problems of modern India. In the present paper we shall deal with the economic and political problems discussed by the author.

It is in the chapters dealing with economic and political conditions that one finds the extent of Sir William Meyer's influence on the opinions of M. Chailley. At places the struggle between the natural sympathies of a French Republican, and the unconscious bias of a grateful pupil for the opinions of his Anglo-Indian teacher, is so patent on the surface as to land the author into hopeless confusion and undisguised inconsistency. We shall deal with this aspect of the book more fully, when we come to notice the author's observations

* *Administrative Problems of British India.* By Joseph Chailley. (Macmillan & Co., Ld., St. Martin's Street, London,) 1910. Price 10*s*. 6*d*. nett,

on political reform. To take the chapter on economic conditions first, we find that in the opinion of the author, a traveller cannot help noting that "the inhabitants seem poverty-stricken, and that want abounds, but that nevertheless, everywhere, even in regions liable to famine, you see better houses than formerly, and more silver and jewellery on the women and children." Now it is a generalisation of this kind that is often deceptive. We have no hesitation in admitting that in some villages a number of better houses have been built in recent times; but is that an index to the general prosperity of the people! The "better" house probably belongs to the money lender, or to some Government pensioner—a retired Deputy Collector, an Assistant Engineer or a Resaldar or a Subedar. The women and children wearing silver and jewellery noticed by the traveller may be of the family of these people or what looked silver jewellery, might only be the cheap gilt things, manufactured by, and imported from the West, in heaps. To base a conclusion as to the general prosperity of the country on such chance " sight-seeing " is absurd.

M. Chailley then complains that slackness is the curse of the country. "At first sight everybody seems to be taking an active part in some common toil; as a matter of fact, several persons are looking on at the labour of one." That the charge has some foundation in fact, cannot be denied, but how far that is due to climatic conditions and how much to the quality and quantity of food upon which our workmen have to live, requires consideration. We can, however, generally endorse M. Chailley's complaint against the big landlord. Says he:—"If, however, the labourer is accused of idleness, he may well ask what example he gets from the capitalist. The Zamindar, for example, even if not an absentee, leads in general a life of luxury; hunts, gambles, is always trying to buy fresh land, ruins himself out of ostentation, borrows in order to meet his expenses, and finally leaves his property in the hands of the money-lender, who squeezes the tenantry." The charge, however, is too sweeping to be taken literally. We entertain, however, serious doubts as to the accuracy of the author's views on the want of pecuniary foresight in the people in general. We are no advocates of expensive marriages or funerals, but we are afraid Anglo-Indian critics make too much of them, in attributing to them the miserable squalor and the pitiful helplessness of the ryot. The author is quite mistaken if he thinks that the Indian is a spendthrift by nature or by habit, and that the

grinding poverty of the masses is due to that fact. The Indian bureaucrat, in fact, is not solitary in his attempt to ignore the injustice and iniquity of the prevailing social conditions, which give such a preposterous advantage to the governing classes, the capitalist and the landlord over the poor labourer and the ryot, by bringing the charge of want of frugality against the latter. This is a stock argument used every day in Europe and America by the opponents of socialism, and the champion of capitalism and landlordism. Bureaucracies everywhere are in close alliance with the latter, howsoever much they may profess to be the only and the best friends of the former, *i.e*, the oppressed ryot or the sweating factory hand. The fault lies more at the door of the unequal and unjust distribution of wealth—the predominace given to the man with money over the man with brains or the man with muscles. All the same we think it is always useful to see ourselves as others see us and that is our excuse for the long quotation we give below :—

Want of pecuniary foresight is as common as idleness. In a country of nearly three hundred million inhabitants the deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks do not amount to much more than ten crores of rupees. Every one squanders, from the wretched peasant who lives upon the grain that was given him for sowing, (?) to the great landlord who is in the hands of usurers. A young man marries without having measured his land and calculated the out-turn necessary to support a family. The father of a family undergoes the expense of traditional festivals—betrothals, funerals, and ancestor worship—starts suits in which success is declared certain, but, which he, nevertheless, loses: and borrows from time to time a hundred rupees or so from a money-lender, on the security of his land or goods, for which he may have to pay an anna per rupee per month or 75 per cent. per annum. Everywhere, men sink under the burden of their innumerable relations—parents, brothers, unmarried sisters, kinsfolk of all sorts, almost all poor and idle If a man's relatives have assisted him as a student, when he becomes a professor or a lawyer in large practice he must support them in turn, and even admit them to a share in his property. Economic progress is almost impossible in a society thus organised.

Coming to the chapter on political reform, we find the author starting with the following observation as to the character of the "national party."

To an observer from Europe, this party appears at first sight worthy of sympathy. It claims to be an agent of emancipation, a propagator of that spirit of liberty which one meets with, throughout history, and which instinctively provokes enthusiasm and gratitude But when we examine the party more closely, and follow its evolution and strategy, we are bound to withdraw a portion of our admiration, if not of our esteem.

The sentence following, however, gives out the Anglo-Indian critic :—

It is, in essence, a party of theorists—arm-chair politicians, who, I fear, shrink in reality from the open air and a life of action. Writers and orators, proud of their knowledge and their caste, disdainful, and perhaps even ignorant, of the lower classes, aloof from the mass of the people, they have little more knowledge of that mass than they can derive from the documents brought together and published by the Anlgo-Indian Government which they tax with selfishness, oppression, and ignorance. Neither their conduct nor their speeches are calculated to inspire confidence. The facts they allege, and base their reasonings upon, are often doubtful ; their historical criticism is lamentably weak : while the remedies they propose, whether in the matter of administration or finance, are often childish.

May we ask M. Chailley what chances there are for the national party for a life of action and what he means by their shrinking from the open air? How does he know that they are disdainful of the lower classes? Is he not using the language of Sir William Meyer or rather is not the latter giving expression to his own feelings on the subject? Presumably the Indian nationalist knows more of the lower classes of his countrymen than either of these worthies can. Later on the author adds :—

As a matter of fact this so-called national party is really a party of privilege, a concourse of representatives of the high castes and the rich classes which is really a stranger to the nation on whose behalf it professes to speak............ .... If it were truly national it would inscribe on its banner "India for the Indians" and if really sincere, it would say "We claim the Government of India". Such as it is, it is a source of annoyance to the British; it is not a source of danger, but it is a development which has to be reckoned with.

We confess we cannot understand what M. Chailley means by all this. He may be confounding the "national party" with the landed aristocracy and the zamindras of Bengal, whom he has run down rather ruthlessly. He forgets, however, that the zamindars of Bengal and the privileged classes do not belong to the national party. It has been the misfortune of nationalists, all the world over, and in all times to be misunderstood and misrepresented like that. The bureaucracies, everywhere, aim at isolating the reformers both from the classes and the masses. They pat the former on the back by calling them the natural leaders of the people, although in their heart of hearts they have nothing but contempt for them ; the masses they provoke and prejudice by saying that the nationalists only aim at self-glorification and self-aggrandisement. But for the fact, that our French critic is looking at us through Anglo-

Indian spectacles he should have seen through the game. However, let us see what he thinks and how he speaks of the Anglo-Indian policy :—

If the English were an idealist people, their role would be easy and splendid ; in their turn they would seize on the motto, "India for the Indians," and would thus block the path of the National party. Even now they claim, in opposition to it, to be the defenders of the general interest of the country, but their attitude is not clearly defined. It was so at one time in the era of Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone (about 1830) and even after the Mutiny, when the British considered their mission in India as being to educate the people, to make a nation of them, and to prepare them for the task of self-government. That task accomplished, in the course of a century or two, they would retire, leaving to its own destinies a glorious child of their genius. With such a programme, sure of their rights because sure of their intentions, the English of to-day would be in a position to combat the pretentions and check the subtle moves of the little group of ambitious members of the upper class. They would gradually complete the administrative and political education of a picked body, whose role would be to guide the rest, for there can be no question of granting self-government to the whole of the 200 million inhabitants of India. And this picked body they would recruit not merely among the Bengali Babus, proud of their wonderful aptitude for picking up and retaining knowledge, but throughout the whole country, in all classes, among all races and religions, among thinkers as well as among men of action, provided that they had a proper sentiment of responsibility and duty, and were less eager for posts and salaries than for the powers and opportunities of doing good which these confer. Such a line of policy, loyally, and of necessity lengthily, practised, would in due course produce a numerous and capable class of Indian administrators, would educate the whole people, would gradually evolve a national sentiment, and would one day render necessary the end of British domination, and the commencement of a purely Indian era—a glorious and magnificent work. But this conception is not now that of the generality of Englishmen, though it has still some few adherents—Sir Henry Cotton, for instance, who presided over the National Congress in 1904. British opinion, whether in India or the mother-country, would now no longer consider a policy of evacuation ; the ties which bind India to England are too strong. India is one of the main pillars upon which the grandeur of the British Empire rests, and England will not willingly let her go ; nor can a foreigner judge, or any one prophesy, in regard to a matter such as this.

On page 173, we tumble down on another piece of quixotic utterance, the coherence of which passes our comprehension.

During the first four or five sessions of the Congress, the close union of its members and the moderation and practical spirit of their resolutions, gave rise to hopes to which time has given the lie. Later on, personal ambitions became developed, minorities were sacrificed, dissensions arose and *although the Musalmans are now joining the Congress in larger proportions than formerly*, the old-time enthusiasm has died away.

On page 175 we note signs of returning sense :-

The fact remains, however, that the Congress leaders include men who by their moral worth, their enthusiastic eloquence, or their calm judgment have been able to rally to it fresh recruits and to give the movement a serious character, which must be reckoned with. It is all very well for Anglo-Indians to go about saying that the Indian Government will concede nothing, and England will not do anything for the people who have no votes. The Government does concede. Follow the budget debates in the Provincial Councils and in the Viceroy's Council at Calcutta, and you will see Indian members taking up regularly the role of assailants, criticising facts, denouncing abuses, and finally snatching from the administration reforms or measures which it ought to have given itself the credit and prestige of putting forward spontaneously.

The following criticism of the Indian National Congress does not however seem to be entirely unjust :—

Moderate Indian opinion annually devotes a few days to the popular cause, in order to have the right ; during the rest of the year, not to think more about it ; and when that epoch comes, the Congress leaders carry out the usual ceremonies of declamation and imprecation, a very different matter from the solemn and decent assizes of a great party really devoted to the good of the country.

The author reverts again and again (scores of times) to the so-called unrepresentative character of the National party, though he feels compelled to admit "that in spite of its narrow and egotistical class views, the Congress is also working for the masses and in their interests." In the chapter on "Europeans and Indians" there are some home thrusts which the European community in India may well digest.

There is more, however, than mere abstention from social relations ; there is active repugnance and hostility. Englishmen will not join volunteer corps if Indians are admitted thereto. British soldiers will assault, plunder, or even kill "natives." If they are prosecuted, a European jury is prone to shut its eyes to the evidence ; while, if they have to be convicted, European opinion is moved to the point of addressing remonstrances to the Government of India. For this race antipathy, the British mercantile community is as much or more responsible than the officials ; but it is the latter who are chiefly attacked by Indian opinion, since the British official, while benevolent and sympathetic towards the poor, tends to be stiff and patronising towards the well-to-do. The truth is that close relations between the races have for the present become impossible, because they have become useless. Savants, travellers, or Englishwomen, prompted by curiosity or vanity, may penetrate into new, and ordinarily inaccessible, surroundings ; but the Anglo-Indian, whether he be an official or a non-official, is usually interested in India only by reason of the income he derives from it and the use which it is to his own country. He has come from England with a classical education, and, from want of

time and preparation, remains a stranger to the civilisation, history, and aspirations of the Indians. He no longer makes India his country and his home. He has come there for five and twenty years or so; and, incredible as this may seem, his whole existence there is spent, as far as possible, within his own family and among his compatriots, with his eyes perpetually fixed on England and the hour of departure.

The Indian side of the question is set forth in the following passage:—

The Indians, on their side, now affect to care less for such relations. They know that they would find them useful, and they would have enjoyed them had they felt that the English were accepting them spontaneously, but to-day their pride has been hurt by the resistance they have found. Let us not be deceived by the fact that they still make a great grievance of want of intercourse in their conversation and speeches. What they now seek is political arguments and not social claims.

Book II deals with a brief sketch of the British administration, and is the history of the various departments composing it. There are more facts and figures than opinions. Still, now and then, we do come across some opinions also, which are characterised by the same confusion of thought, as has been noticed above. In the chapter on "Justice" the author gives expression to his opinion in the following words:—

Now for my own opinion on the questions at issue. The present organisation of justice in India violates all theoretical rules. It does not give the parties to cases the guarantees which civilised peoples now demand. Even where a separate judiciary has been organised the judges, or at least those of them who belong to the Indian Civil Service, enter on a judicial career without the legal training indispensable therefor Moreover, a judicial career is less attractive, and ordinarily less lucrative, than an executive one, and consequently attracts less able officers. The judges, too, obtain their promotion from the executive, and consequently cannot feel themselves entirely free in matters in which the interests of the Government are concerned. The same remark applies, with greater force, to the executive officers who deal with magisterial or quasi-judicial work.

Where, again, there is almost entire concentration of powers, there is no adequate guarantee either of independence or competence. The load of his work makes the Collector-magistrate-Judge-a mere machine.

Nor do the High Courts themselves afford absolute security. A proportion of the judges are barristers, usually appointed in England, and, as a class, they are competent, though there have been unfortunate exceptions; but the civilians and the Indian vakils, who form about two-thirds of the whole, and whose appointment practically rests with the Local Government, may be—and I do not say they have been—chosen less on account of their merit than for their supposed suppleness or complaisance.

A system which lends itself to so many and such grave objections seems unworthy of maintenance; nevertheless, these criticisms are for the most part theoretical only. The Anglo-Indian courts have not shown themselves inferior to those of any other country.

This is certainly more a condemnation than praise of the system. Again on page 464, he says that "the civilian judges of the Muffussil may be styled improvised judges," and further on, that

nevertheless it is permissible and even necessary to state that neither the barrister nor the civilian judges give full satisfaction. The barristers who quit the country for the Indian courts have occasionally had but a poor success as lawyers. The civilian judges again are almost unanimously held not to be the pick on the Indian Civil Service.

In the chapter dealing with the educational problem, we come across the following observation on the reluctance of the British to open the doors of the higher services to the Indians:—

Whether the party in power in England be Radical or Conservative, the Government of India has always shown a greater or less degree of reluctance to a large admission of Indians to the higher posts of the administration. In spite of the promises held out by the charter of 1833, the solemn proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, efforts are always being made to keep down the proportion of Indians in these grades

In the concluding chapter, the author winds up with a suggestion of his own for the improvement of higher education which, though valuable in its own way, hardly carries us far enough towards the solution of the real problem. He suggests that the Government should select not one or two scholars—for that would be an incalculable blunder—but an adequate number of mature students for the improvement of higher education and send them to England, Germany, France, the United States and Russia for higher training. In his opinion the Government will, by this step, succeed in a striking degree in raising the level of University education in India, and in producing material improvement in the attitude of the educated classes. We are sure the educated classes will be very grateful if the Government of India were to give effect to this suggestion, though we are not sure that the step will in any way, bring about the consummation so much desired by M. Chailley, *viz.*, the reconciliation of the educated Indian to the almost helpless position he holds in the management of the affairs of his own country.

We have—as in our former article—of purpose, made lengthy extracts from the book, so as to let the French author and his Anglo-Indian mentor speak for themselves. While our general

view of the book remains the same as expressed in the earlier article, we may sum up by saying that M. Chailley's *Administrative Problems of Mordern India* is about the best book of its class, *i.e.*, amongst works which discuss Indian problems from the official standpoint. But while it gives the reader a great deal of truth about Mordern India, it does not give the whole truth and nothing but the truth. This is not surprising, since the author's standpoint being mainly official, his views and sentiments naturally bear, to a large extent, the official stamp. His independent opinions, therefore, which one lights upon occasionally, are all the more welcome, and the book is worth reading for these alone. On the whole, M. Chailley's work is a notable contribution to Anglo-Indian literature.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S PRIVATE LETTERS.*

By Mr. Kamlakanta Verma, B A., LL. B.

A NOTABLE contribution to the study of Anglo-Indian history has just been made by the publication of Lord Dalhousie's private letters. By a codicil to his will, "couched in solemn words," Lord Dalhousie forbade the publication of his private papers until half-a-century had elapsed after his death. These fifty years having passed, the letters have seen the light of day under the able editorship of Mr. J.G. A. Baird, who has done his work exceedingly well. It is not difficult to divine the reasons for this solemn injunction on the part of the noble Marquis. The letters are essentially personal in character, and having been written on the spur of the moment, contain many passages which clearly show that the writer had no time for reflection and for weighing his words, and which might not have been written if the great pro-consul could have foreseen at the time, that they were likely to be published. For instance, writing about the brothers, Sir Charles and William Napier, Lord Dalhousie says: "These two Napiers are vineyards on a volcano. They would have been gay and genial but for the perpetual flames bursting out and blasting all that was good in them." Sir Charles Wood he pronounces to be "fidgetting and meddlesome." The Court of Directors—by reason of, we suppose, having its offices in Leadenhall street—is dubbed the "Hall of

* *The Private Letters of the Marquis of Dalhousie.* Edited by J. G. A. Baird, (William Blackwood and Sons. London.) 1910. Price 15*s*.

Lead," and the Board of Control is the "Board of Interference." The denunciation of Lord Gough, too, is very stong and unmeasured. The question may be asked, why were the letters written at all? The answer is supplied by the distinguished writer himself. Writing to Sir George Couper, he says that he kept him (Couper) with Fox Maule, as "a safety-valve to blow off feelings which I can express to no one in India but my wife, and do express to no one in Europe except your two selves."

The letters throw an interesting, though meagre, light on the administrative problems of the day. When the first Legislative Council was constituted in 1854, Lord Dalhousie, writing about it, says: "Our young parliament is going on smoothly and well. It has given me a great deal of trouble to bring it into the world, and its sittings break up one day in the week for me, which is a serious affair; but it is a vastly superior machine to the last, and will do a great deal of business." The Act which removed the civil disabilities of Indian converts to Christianity, was also passed in his time. There was great opposition to the Act, but Lord Dalhousie did what he thought right. He wrote: "I hold that in India the eternal principles on which British law is founded shall prevail as elsewhere; and that while we leave to the Hindoo to be mainly governed by his own law, we cannot permit in India, any more than elsewhere, that a man should be exposed to penalty or to civil injury by reason of his religious belief." Of greater and more far-reaching importance was the establishment of a school for girls by Mr. Bethune, the Law Member. Mr. Bethune received the fullest support of the Governor-General who writes:—

I took it up on behalf of the Government, and all the Council, except Sir John Littler (who thought that a smattering of English would lead them to immoral habits!—wonderful conclusion, even if the teaching was a smattering, which it is not!), concurred in placing these schools under the Government, like the boys' schools I belive this is a great revolution in Indian habits.

There is very little in the letters which supports the theory that Lord Dalhousie was an eager annexationist. There is no doubt that soon after assuming the viceroyalty, he had been convinced of the necessity of annexing Oudh. He intended to take Hyderabad too under British management, but when the Nizam paid off a part of his debt, he gave up the idea of annexing the Nizam's dominions and wrote in his characteristic vein: "I don't want them." A rebellion broke out in Bhawalpore, and he was requested to interfere. But he refused, and observed

that " whenever one hears of 'upholding the prestige of our name,' and 'interposing as the paramount power' one may be sure some unwarrantable exercise of might, not right, is recommended." But he never entertained a doubt as to the wisdom of taking Oudh under his control, and expressed his opinion with the frankness which characterises all his letters :—" The King of Oudh seems disposed to be bumptious. I wish he would be. To swallow him before I go would give me satisfaction."

The chief value of the book does not lie, however, so much in the fact that it sheds much light on the administrative problems and measures of the time, as that it affords a thorough insight into the character and the innermost feelings of the man. They show us the masterful personality " whose life," in the words of Mr. Baird, the editor, " has become part of a nation's history," and they enable us to understand " the motives which governed his actions." A fixed determination, strength of character, singleness of purpose, perseverance in doing what was right, high sense of duty, noble patriotism, infinite capacity for work,—all these qualities are reflected in numerous passages in the letters. After the annexation of the Panjab, Sir Henry Lawrence was sent to Lahore as the representative of the British Government. He proposed to issue a proclamation saying that he wanted to bring peace to the province and promising to do all sorts of things. Dalhousie not only forbade it and " shook him for it," but impressed upon him that he was not the Government. Lord Dalhousie expresses himself characteristically on the subject : " I don't take the Brentford dynasty as a pattern. I object to sharing the chair, and think it best to come to an understanding as to relative positions at once." He was convinced that the civil authority should be paramount in the State, and says : " The Commander-in-Chief shall obey my orders when I know I am right, whether he likes it or not."

Dalhousie was unfortunate in having very bad health, and he was seldom free from pain throughout his stay in India. We find him writing in 1849 :—

I was broken down in health when I started and had no business to come. I landed in Calcutta an invalid, almost a cripple. During all 1848 I was never an hour free from pain, and often attacked by the illnesses of India. I cannot now ride a dozen miles without being worn out ; and I could not walk two, if I were to be hanged for it.

When he was advised to take rest, his reply was : " How is a Governor-General to get that ?". Of course, he could resign

and go to England, but here again his sense of duty interfered. He could not leave his work unfinished. He adds :—

What is worse, it sorely damages my reputation for I leave my work at best to the mercy of others, and in the eyes of those who desire to look invidiously, I leave it because I am afraid of its failure.

Even when the greatest sorrow his life—the death of Lady Dalhousie—came in 1853, he did not leave his work, and determined to hold on till the end. Once, referring to his bereavement, he says : "Don't think from this I am slacking here. It is not so. I toil on, but the hill grows steeper every day". Being a tremendous worker, Simla was not quite to his liking. He writes :—

We have such festivities here as never were: balls here and balls there, balls to the Society, balls by the Society, amateur plays, concerts, fancy fairs, investitures of the Bath, etc , etc. I quite sigh for the quiet of Calcutta.

He keenly felt that he had no friends and complained bitterly against it. "How can a Governor-General ever have a friend?", he asks. He continues :—

You may be easy and companionable with the few you choose to select—but there you are—the Lord Sahib Bahadur always—the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the King set up.

He was blessed with the shrewd foresight and the instinct of a true statesman. He treated the Indian officers of the army with great kindness, and they were once invited to a military ball which Lady Dalhousie gave. Objection was taken to this, and a Director of the East India Company seems to have expressed his disapproval to Sir George Couper. Lord Dalhousie in defence of his action wrote: "He must have been some fossil director that you dug up somewhere ". He continues :—

I receive always the Subadars of the guard here and talk with them for a while. They grin with delight and go away with tears running down their faces at the civility. Do I send that man back to Barrackpore less disposed to obey the officers whom for fifty years he has been obeying ? No. * * * Believe me, if there is any danger to the discipline and fidelity of the Indian army, it is in the growing distance between European officers and the native soldiers ; in the diminished interest those officers are said now to take in the native troop under their orders—officers, of course, as well as men.

And he goes on to add :—

I hope I have not been abusing any particular friend of yours. But really when one sees an insignificant act of courtesy to fine old fellows, who have been fighting for you for 30, 40, 50 years, and which can have no effect but that of gratifying their feelings and disposing them well towards the Government one represents, thus perverted into a source of danger to discipline by the distorting force of antediluvian prejudice . . . it really stirs one's bile.

The lesson conveyed by these wise words may well be taken to heart by the Anglo-Indian to-day.

Dalhousie steadfastly kept the highest ideals before him, and always stood up for what he thought to be right, without the least regard for the feelings of individuals or of subordinate governments. "My concern is the reputation of the British name, not the feelings of the Bombay Government".—Noble words these! In those days young Civilians used to take part in military operations with a view to securing medals. Lord Dalhousie objected to this on principle, because, he said, they should not go medal-hunting to the detriment of their proper work. One man did this. Dalhousie objected to his getting the medal. The Civilian went to England, and by bringing private influence to bear upon the Court of Directors, got the medal. Lord Dalhousie protested strongly, and the Court had to apologise and the Civilian to disgorge the medal. Throughout his tenure of office he had numerous *fracas* in India, as also with the Board of Directors. He complained bitterly of the way the latter treated him, and once said that Sir John Hobhouse addressed him as no gentleman would address his game-keeper. He keenly resented the treatment meted out to him after he had laid down the reins of his exalted office, and we get ample evidence of the proud spirit of the man in the protest that he records :—

They have never answered my application for a few honours for those who have served under me. They have no more of a ship to carry me, and I know not whether I shall find one at Alexandria. If it be the "Caradol," it is the first time a Governor-General was put off on a packet of 609 tons. Altogether I feel that I have been treated most ungraciously and discourteously, after such services as mine, and although I say nothing except to you and such as you, I feel and resent it deeply. One person has treated me with honor and consideration, now as ever,—the Sovereign I serve.

But it must not be supposed that the great Governor-General was always pessimistic, always stern, and had no sense of the humorous. The following incident described in Dalhousie's own words will illustrate this. Writing to Couper in January, 1849, he says :—

In case you see in the newspapers an absurdity about my issuing an order as to civilian's moustaches, believe it to be a fabrication. The Civil Service are fond of such decorations, and as their place of business is called a Cutcherry, Ellenborough christened them "the Cucherry Hussars." At some time (I presume after seeing some unusually fierce pairs) I observed that I wondered at the fancy which made an Englishman like to make himself look like a Frenchman. Now in this country everything that "every magnificent three-tailed Pasha"—the G. G.—says or does is chronicled. He can't blow his august nose

in Calcutta, but the echo of it reverberates on the Sutlej. Accordingly this very harmless remark of mine flew before me, and moustaches fell "like leaves in October" at all the stations on my approach. Some good squibs were published, and at last one of the newspapers published a letter, signed F. F. Courtenay (a parody on a letter published some time before), professing to a declaration of my sentiments regarding the "capillary decorations" of the Civil Service! When Elliot (the Foreign Secretary), who is named in it, and is there called Professor Elliot, (from having written a paper on Hairs in a *Calcutta Review* many years ago) read the newspaper article to me, I said to him, "That's so gravely done that you may rely on it half the people will take it for Gospel." And now I see ever so many of the idiots of editors have taken it seriously and in the overland summaries for England have wondered that G. G. can occupy himself with such trifles, and use such expressions as "capillary decorations"!! I dare say half the asses of the world in England will believe it too. However don't you.!

His reference to how he travelled with the Koh-i-Noor diamond from Lahore to Bombay is also amusing and had better be given in his own words :—

The Koh-i-Noor sailed from Bombay in H. M. S. "Medea" on 6th April. I could not tell you at the time, for strict secrecy was observed, but I brought it from Lahore myself. I undertook the charge of it in a funk, and never was so happy in all my life as when I got it into the Treasury at Bombay. It was sewn and double sewn into a belt secured round my waist, one end through the belt fastened to a chain round my neck. It never left me day or night, except when I went to Dera Ghazee Khan, when I left it with Capt. Ramsay (who now has joint charge of it) locked in a treasure-chest, and with strict orders that he was to sit upon the chest till I came back! My stars! what a relief it was to get rid of it.

On the whole, we think Mr. Baird has done a signal service by bringing out this volume of the private letters of the great pro-consul and statesman, and we are sure the book will be found very entertaining and highly instructive by all who will peruse it. The publishers, on their part, have spared nothing in giving an excellent format and get-up to the work, which is a valuable contribution to Anglo-Indian literature and should find a place in every library in this country.

DISRAELI: THE SPHINX UNVEILED.*

By Mr. Charles Whibley.

IT may be said of Benjamin Disraeli, as of few statesmen, that a wider knowledge does but enhance his reputation. He who spared not others spared not himself, and an honourable candour

The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. By William Flavelle Monypenny. Vol. I., 1804-18 7 (London: John Murray). 1910. Price 12s, net.

shines upon every page of Mr. Monypenny's admirable volume. The biographer has done wisely in permitting his hero to tell his own story, and he has performed his task with so rare a skill and sympathy that when we lay the book aside, we keep the impression that we have been listening to Disraeli talking intimately of his brilliant youth.

Born in 1804, the son of Isaac Disraeli, a distinguished man of letters, and the descendant no doubt of a Levantine family, Benjamin Disraeli submitted to the strangest education that ever fell to the lot of Jew or statesman. His first schoolmaster was a Dissenting minister, his second was a learned Unitarian. In vain you will look for the influence of these worthies in their pupil's life or works. "Nature is more powerful than education," said Disraeli, and his own career best proves the truth of his aphorism. What he was as a man, he was as a child. Though he did not take much trouble to master Greek and Latin, he was already a mature critic of history and literature at fifteen. Here, for instance, is a comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes composed at school :—"We admire in Cicero the well-turned sentence and the cadenced period, the subtle argument and the acute remark. But in reading Demosthenes we think not of these, our imagination is fired, our enthusiasm is awakened, and even I—I, who have been obliged to wade through his beauties with a hateful lexicon at my side—have often wished to have lived in the olden time, when Philip was King of Macedon and Demosthenes demagogue of Athens."

Clearly, a boy who could write and think like this had little to learn from schoolmasters. It is not surprising that study and the lawyer's office were alike irksome to him. "My father made a feeble effort for Oxford," he says, "but the hour of adventure had arrived, I was unmanageable." A restless ambition consumed him. To use his own words, he must be something "great and glorious and dazzling"; he entertained "a deep conviction that life must be intolerable unless he be the greatest of men." And that he might gain the wealth that should lead on to grandeur, this amazing boy went into the City. The moment was propitious for the adventurer. All the wealth of South America seemed floating into the world's ken, and Benjamin Disraeli, drawing generously on the bank of hope, "at the age of twenty, had incurred a debt of several thousand pounds, a debt which was not finally liquidated till nearly thirty years later, when he had already led the House of Commons and been Chancellor of the Exchequer." But Disraeli made light

of this youthful disaster: indeed, he turned it to the best possible advantage. "What should I be without my debts?" he says, through the mouth of Fekredeen in *Tancred* "dear companions of my life that never desert me! All my knowledge of human nature is owing to them; it is in managing my affairs that I have sounded the depths of the human heart, recognised all the combinations of human character, developed my own powers, and mastered the resources of others." Beneath this bombast there lies a real truth. The fetters which he forged for himself not merely gave him a knowledge of mankind; an attempt to shake them off led to the first real adventure of his life.

In 1825 Disraeli was already an intimate friend of John Murray. The great publisher did not disdain to ask and to accept the counsel of the precocious boy, and there was nothing more natural than that he should choose him as his emissary, when he had determined to threaten the supremacy of *The Times* with a new Tory paper, to be called *The Répresentative.* Murray's choice for an editor fell upon Lockhart, and young Disraeli was sent to Edinburgh to win the allegiance of Lockhart and the great Sir Walter. It was a delicate mission for a mere boy to undertake. It need not be said that it was entirely successful. Here is Disareli's own account: "I arrived at Chiefswood yesterday. M. (Lockhart) had conceived it was my father who was coming. . . In addition, therefore, to his natural reserve there was, of course, an evident disappointment at seeing me. Everything looked as black as possible." It was, in other words, precisely the situation with which Disraeli, young or old, delighted to deal. "Suffice it to say" he goes on, "that in a few hours we completely understood each other and were upon the most intimate terms." There was only one hitch. To be the editor of a daily paper was in those days deemed beneath the dignity of a man of letters. Sir Walter thought that Parliament was indispensable for Lockhart, and Disraeli had no objection. He proved to them both that Lockhart would be supported by all "the great interests," and finally "that he is coming to London, not to be the editor of a neswpaper, but the director-general of an immense organ, and at the head of a band of high-bred gentlemen and important interests."

Who could resist such an appeal as this? Lockhart came to London, *The Representative* was launched and failed through no fault of Disralie's and the fortunate youth was the richer by a brilliant experience. And then a misfortune fell upon him, far heavier than debt, which only his fortitude could have sustained.

He fell into a state of despondency from which the most skilful doctors could not arouse him. Truly his fate might have seemed desperate. "I am at present quite idle," he wrote to Sharon Turner, "being at this moment slowly recovering from one of those tremendous disorganisations which happen to all men at some period of their lives, and which are perhaps equally necessary for the formation of both body and constitution. Whether I shall ever do anything which will mark me out from the crowd, I know not. I am one of those to whom moderate reputation can give no pleasure."

There he spoke with the voice of courage, destined in the future to be so often and so loudly heard. Meanwhile he had stormed the first citadel of succcss with his novels *Vivian Grey* and *The Young Duke.* In spite of their extravagances these works had made him famous even beyond the borders of England. The great Goethe, the arbiter of European literature, had deigned to speak a few words of praise, and Disraeli at twenty-five had no cause to believe himself doomed to "moderate reputation." Moreover, he was taking his first steps in the society which he was presently to dominate. Henry Bulwer, who met him in 1830, when he was still under the cloud of despondency, thus describes him: "He wore green velvet trousers, a canary-coloured waistcoat, low shoes, silver buckles, lace at his wrists, and his hair in ringlets. . . If on leaving the table we had been severally taken aside and asked which was the cleverest of the party, we should have been obliged to say "the man in the green velvet trousers."

But Society could not shake off the black-dog of despondency, and Disraeli took the wisest resolution that ever he took in his life; he set out for the East. What this journey meant to his career in literature and politics we all know. In seeking the cradle of his race Disraeli found something else besides health; he found himself. From the moment of his return the real Disraeli, who, in spite of prejudice and opposition, made himself the ruler of England, is clearly apparent.

On his return from the East, Disraeli determined to enter politics. "Poetry," as he had said, "is the safety valve of my passions, but I wish to act what I write." Or, as he put it in another place: "I am only truly great in action." Such by a strange paradox was the teaching of the indolent East—action, action, and again action. And Disraeli, being a man of world, knew that the proper avenue to politics was Society. Into Society, then, he threw himself with all the ardour of his ardent nature. His success was immediate. In a few months he was pursued by all the world.

For the graver side of politics, Disraeli had a natural aptitude. Never did he doubt of his ultimate success. When Lord Melbourne asked him what he wanted, he had no hesitation in saying "to be Prime Minister." Here is his account of a visit to the House of Commons in the early part of 1833:—"Went to the House of Commons to hear Bulwer adjourn the House; was there yesterday during the whole debate—one of the finest we have had for years. Bulwer spoke, but he is physically disqualified for an orator; and, in spite of all his exertions, never can succeed. He was heard with great attention, and is evidently backed by a party. Heard Macaulay's best speech, Sheil and Charles Grant. Macaulay admirable; but, between ourselves, I could floor them all, This *entre nous;* I was never more confident of anything than that I could carry everything before me in the House." So he pitted himself against the best—against Sheil and Macaulay—and felt himself their master.

Disraeli has been charged always with inconsistency, and never was there a more consistent politician. "I am neither Whig nor Tory," such is his first political utterance. "My politics are described by one word, and that word is England." And again: "I care not for party. I stand here without party. I plead the cause of the people, and I care not whose policy I arraign." The party whose policy he arraigned with the highest hope was the Whigs. "A Tory and a Radical I understand," said he with excellent sense; "a Whig, a democratic aristocrat, I cannot comprehend." In his famous speech at Taunton he elaborated his position: "Gentlemen," said he, "if there be anything on which I pique myself, it is my consistency. I shall be ready to prove that consistency in the House of Commons or on the hustings at Taunton. Every man may be attacked once but no one ever attacked me twice. Gentlemen, here is my consistency. I have always opposed with the utmost energy the party of which my honourable opponent is a distinguished member. That party I have opposed for reasons which I am prepared to give and to uphold. I look upon the Whigs as an anti-national party." Such was Disraeli, in his youth. Such was Lord Beaconsfield to the end of his days, and no statesman has a clearer record.

In 1837 Disraeli, now the friend of Lyndhurst, was returned as member of Parliament for Maidstone. And there Mr. Monypenny leaves him. We look forward to the rest of the work with interest and confidence.—O. D. M.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE LITERATURE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM.

India Under Lord Ripon.—A Private Diary: By Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. (T. Fisher Unwin; Adelphi Terrace, London) 1909. Price 12*s*-6*d*.

An Empire in Pawn—By A. J. Wilson (T. Fisher Unwin; Adelphi Terrace, London) 1909. Price 10*s*-6*d*.

Essays in National Idealism: By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. (Colombo Aphothecaries Co., Ltd., Colombo) 1910. Price Rs. 2-8.

M. K. Gandhi: *An Indian Patriot in South Africa.* By Joseph J. Doke. With an Introduction by Lord Ampthill (The London Indian Chronicle, 154, High Road, Ilford, London) 1909. Price 2*s*-6*d*.

The Indian Constitution: *An Introductory Study.* By A. Rangaswami Iyengar, B. A., B. L. (G. C. Loganadham Bros., Mount Road, Madras.) 1909. Price Rs. 2.

"Handbooks of English Church Expansion," *North India*: By Rev. C. F. Andrews (A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ld., 34, Great Castle Street, Oxford Circus London.) Price-5*s*.

The Significance of Indian Nationalism. By H. M. Howsin, with an Introduction by V. H. Rutherford (A. C. Fifield, London). Price 1*s*. nett.

Recent Indian Finance. By D. E. Wacha. (Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1910.

The Indian Reforms,—By V. R. Naidu (A. Swaminatha Moodelier, 27 Sydenham's Road, Vepery, Madras) 1910. Re. 1.

Heroes of Indian History. By J. C. Allen, Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay. Price As. 12.

MR. WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT'S *India under Lord Ripon*—which comprises a "private diary" kept by him while in this country, as also an abridged reprint of his book *Ideas about India*, published after his return to England in 1884—is a valuable contribution to the study of the administration of Lord Ripon, as also to the solution of the many serious problems facing us to-day. The diary deals with men who figured prominently in those days and with the measures which provoked considerable controversy at the time, and Mr. Blunt's impressions are marked by sympathy for Indian aspirations and a high sense of regard for our people, which is so rare amongst British travellers, and is all the more remarkable as the author is a staunch conservative in "home politics." On the whole, Mr. Blunt has done well to publish these diaries. He would do still better to bring out in a separate volume his *Ideas about India*, which has ever since its first appearance been regarded by serious students of Indian problems as one of the most instructive works on the effects of British rule in India.

Mr. A. J. Wilson, well-known as the editor of the *Investor's Review*, was certainly well-advised in bringing together in a compact volume—called *An Empire in Pawn*—his studies on the economical condition of the various parts of the British Empire, contributed by him during these many years to several periodicals. The Introduction deals with the economic problems of India and the idea set forth therein is elaborated with great skill and with a wonderful array of facts and figures in three papers, significantly headed "Bureaucratic India," "The Burden of India" and "India—After Fifty Years of Imperial Rule." Though the first of these appeared so far back as August 1882, much of what was said at the time is still applicable to present conditions—a significant commentary this on the immobility of that ponderous machinery, known to us as the "Government of India." All these essays betray the hand of a very thoughtful writer, deeply versed in ecomonic problems and possessing an independence and freshness of view, ver y rare in critics of the Anglo-Indian administration. These essays should be read, marked and inwardly digested by all educated Indians who are interested in the economic progress of India. The publisher would do well to bring out a cheap and handy reprint of the first four chapters which deal with this country.

Readers of the *Hindustan Review* hardly need any introduction to that eminent Indian scholar, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who is one of the most esteemed and valued contributors to this periodical. His book, *Essays in National Idealism*, consists of reprints of some of his thoughtful articles which have already appeared in this and other reviews. The keynote of the book is sounded by the author in the Preface, which he has prefixed to the collection. In it he points out to the politician, the publicist and the public man that "the objective of the true nationalist is control of government—not a share in the administration of his country." This is the creed of the Indian National Congress, embodied in its ideal of self-government on colonial lines. Dr. Coomaraswamy is, however, a man of the deepest culture and thought, and though he clearly points out "how impossible it is that any supposed or real advantages resulting from British rule could ever lead us to accept the indefinite continuance of that dominion as part of our ideal," he fully recognizes that "national unity needs a deeper foundation than the perception of political wrongs"—a truth which is too often forgotten by most of

us in this country. Altogether Dr. Coomaraswamy's Essays in *National Idealism* are the most cogent, well-reasoned and thoughtful exposition of the Indian nationalism and should be carefully studied by all who are interested in this, the greatest of all Indian problems of our time.

In Mr. M. K. Gandhi, as said the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, Indian manhood of our generation has reached its high-water-mark. We agree. It is with much pleasure, therefore, that we draw the attention of our readers to this sketch, which has been written by Mr. Joseph Doke, a Baptist Minister of Johannesburg, and published as *An Indian Patriot in South Africa*. It is not a slip-shod compilation but a serious study of the career, character and culture of the great Indian patriot, whose heroic resistance to the unjust and unreasonable demands of the South African colonists, has shed a lustre on the land of his birth. Lord Ampthill, who has nobly stood by his Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa, contributes an instructive Introduction, in the course of which he says:—"I commend this book to all who are willing to take my word that it is worth reading." We would strongly advise parents and guardians to place this book in the hands of their sons and wards, as it is an ideal work for instilling into their young minds the truest patriotism.

In view of last year's India Act making important changes in the Indian constitution, there was certainly need for a handy volume giving in clear language the outlines of Indian constitution. This has now been supplied in Mr. A. Rangaswany Iyengar's *Indian Constitution* and which—though having for its sub-title "An Introductory Study"—is sufficiently comprehensive to serve the purpose of an upto-date work of reference. Its exposition of the intricate and complicated subject it deals with, is marked by clearness of thought and style and, while rightly avoiding controversial aspects, it brings into relief all the salient features of the constitution of both the Imperial and the Provincial Governments, and of their working. Not the least important portion of Mr. Iyengar's work is the lengthy Appendix which gives the texts of the various India Acts and of the Reform Regulations, and other connected state papers. In short, it is a work of great merit and usefulness and should be prescribed as a text-book by our universities.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews' volume on *North India* in the "Handbooks of English Church Expansion" series is, of course, principally intended for missionaries and those interested in Indian missions,

but its last two chapters will be of the greatest interest to educated Indians, as they deal with "The Indian Point of View" and "The Nationalist Movement." Mr. Andrews is a stauuch Indian nationalist and is endowed with the divine gift of sympathy and looking at questions from other points than his own. Few Indian nationalists themselves have so clear a grasp of the problem of Indian nationalism as Mr. Andrews, and we strongly recommend a careful perusal of the last two chapters of his book to all educated Indians, as also to such Anglo-Indians as are really desirous of understanding the Indian problem of problems. It seems to us a pity that these two chapters should not be more accessible than they are, and that they should have found a place where few are likely to expect or look for them. We would suggest to the author the desirability of his reprinting these chapters in some periodical in this country so as to give them that wide publicity which by reason of their being masterly sketches of certain aspects of the nationalist movement they fully deserve.

Miss Howsin's little book—*The Significance of Indian Nationalism*—has been written with the avowed purpose of advocating the cause of Indian Nationalism. She frankly says that like an advocate she does not wish to direct attention to the weakness of the case; her one desire being to win. It may be permissible for a lawyer to argue his clients' case in a particular way but quite a different sort of treatment is needed in grave political questions. You have to look at the whole situation and then to say not only what is desirable but also what is practicable. Dr. Rutherford's introductory note is written in a wholesome strain. At the same time, this little book will serve a useful purpose. If we get unmerited abuse in the writings of a certain class of publicists both here and in England, in this book at least there is generous, perhaps too generous, a praise of everything Indian. That is, of course, not our standpoint, but so long as almost everything Indian is cried down by a certain section of Anglo-Indians, enthusiasts on the Indian side—such evidently as the author of the book under notice—are sure to have their say in the way they like.

Mr. D. E. Wacha—the eminent publicist—has placed his educated countrymen and, in fact, all students of Indian economics under an obligation by publishing in a neat little pamphlet—called *Recent Indian Finance*—the series of papers contributed by him recently to some journals. They constitute the most brilliant and authoritative criticism of the recent financial policy of the Indian

Government. The discussion includes such subjects as the growth of expenditure, enhanced taxation, reasons for deficits and the case for financial reform. These papers will be read with not only pleasure but profit by all students of Indian economics, and Messrs. Natesan have rendered one more useful service to their country by bringing out these in a handy little tract.

The Indian Reforms,—compiled by Mr. V. R. Naidu, is a very useful publication, as it gives full and complete particulars regarding the regulations promulgated last year under the India Councils Act. Besides, it comprises many of the great speeches made during the passage of the Bill in the Lords and the Commons, with texts of the important despatches and other connected papers. Altogether it is an excellent collection of information which no public man or publicist dealing with current Indian affairs can do without. It will form a handy and useful supplement to Mr. Iyengar's *Indian Constitution* noticed above.

Heroes of Indian History, by Mr. J. C. Allen, is an exceedingly interesting, nay instructive, little book for our young men. The author has endeavoured to make a book which will interest the Indian schoolboy in the history, the heroes and the stories of his own country. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are drawn upon for their heroic tales; and we are given also stories of the Moghuls, of the Rajputs, and of the British, all told in pleasant and simple language, and in an excellent spirit. It is illustrated largely with Indian pictures, and is altogether the sort of educational book that is desirable for Indian boys, though it might be even more effective in the vernacular. Though more an educational than political work, it may, owing to its being intended to inculcate the lessons of patriotism to young Indians, fitly bring to a close this review of Indian nationalistic and patriotic literature—political and economic.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Books of Reference.

CONSIDERING the large number of Indian students who now go to Japan to prosecute their studies, a handbook to that country, by an Indian with practical knowledge of the requirements of young Indians, was for years a *desideratum*. The want has now been completely removed by the recent publication of Mr. R. Palit's *A Guide to Japan* (A. T. Dhur, 10 Champatolla, 1st Bye-Lane, Calcutta) which is neatly got-up and cheaply priced at Re. 1. Though a compilation, it is very well done and will fully serve the object it has in view. It com-

presses within a short compass a good deal of useful information of great value to Indian students in Japan, while the sketches of the history of that country and of the religion of the people and their Government make it very interesting reading. It is likely to prove of interest to others also than those intending to visit the land of the Rising Sun.

The large number of Indians who will visit London next year on the occasion of the King-Emperor's Coronation may do worse than arm themselves with the *Green Book of London Society*—which is the first annual work of reference published during the reign of His Majesty King George V—edited by Messrs Douglas Sladen and W. Wigmore (J. Whitaker and Sons, Ld, 12 Warwick Lane, London. E C). It is certainly the one indispensable book of reference which no one staying in London can do without. It is an exceedingly well-compiled directory of the Court, of society and of the political and official world, including celebrities in Art, Literature, Science and Sport, and of many other subjects of current interest. In fact, there is so much useful information brought together within its covers about London and its men and affairs, that it forms a useful work of reference even to journalists in India. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

We welcome the second, revised and enlarged, edition of the *Student's Practical Hindi-English Dictionary* just issued (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad), at the rather cheap price, for such a work, of Rs. 3. The first edition of this very useful book was published early in 1903 and advantage has been taken of the second edition to improve it in every respect. So far as we have tested the book at various places, we have found it to be accurate and clear in its explanations. It is neatly printed and got-up and we commend it to the attention of students and teachers.

Is it on the analogy of De Quincy's famous "Murder as a Fine Art", that Mr. R. Raghunatha Rao has ventured upon his "Translation as a Fine Art" which forms one of the chapters of his instructive littte work—*The Art of Translation* (G. T. A. Printing Works, Mysore)? Whether it be so or not, there is no doubt that it is, to our knowledge, the first systematic treatise published in India on the subject, in which the "art of translation" "—as we suppose we should call it—has received adequate treatment. It is a work which surely deserves earnest attention at the hands of all teachers and their pupils in our schools and colleges.

Messrs. D Appleton & Co., of New York, announce the preparation of *The American Year Book*, the first volume of which, covering the year 1910, will appear in February, 1911. The aim of the series is to fill the need of an annual summary of events and progress—a need which has been felt for some years by scientific, historical, literary, sociological, economic, journalistic, and other workers. While it will be devoted chiefly to American affairs, the most important events of foreign progress will be fully noted. The organization at present consists of accredited representatives or members of twenty-nine of the great American learned societies, who act as a supervisory board, working through an executive committee of seven, and through the chairman of the board, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University. The board has selected as managing editor, Mr. S. N. D. North, recently Director of the United States Census.

NATIONAL POEMS.

THE following collection of poems will, no doubt, appeal to Indian readers. It may be in their recollection that in the issue of the *Hindustan Review* for June last, there was appended a prose translation of Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal's famous Hindustani poem—"Hindustan Hamara"—by the late lamented Dr Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya, to his article on "Hindustani as the National Language of India." This translation was reproduced in the *Review of Reviews* (London) and also in the *American Review of Reviews.* (New York). The former had the following remarks about it: "The short but sweet poem strikes notes that must awaken responsive echoes all through Hindustan. It would seem from it that the Indian is quite as capable of idealising his native land as the Btitish or the American". The *American Review of Reviews* took it as an indication of "a literary as well as a patriotic rendissance in India." Dr. Chattopahyaya's translation, being in prose, could not naturally do justice to the original. We have therefore much pleasure in publishing the following very free rendering of it into verse, which brings out, however, into relief the subtle charm of the Hindustani poem. It has been done for us by Mr. Raghubir Narayan, author of *A Tale of Behar and other Verses*, which have elicited high praise from the present Poet-Laureate, Mr Alfred Austin, and also Sir Lewis Morris (vide *Hindustan Review*, August, 1906.) The other poems are by well-known writers of verse. (ED., *H. R.*)

I. MY THOUGHTS ARE WITH IND.

My thoughts are with Ind—Oh! there warm currents run
Like her high-surging waters that sweep in the sun!
With her plains, hills and valleys, and founts, gushing free—
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

I love her, I love her, the land of my birth,
The sweetest and best on the surface of earth!
Oh! she blooms like a garden of *gul* in her pride,
And her beauty eclipses the charms of a bride!
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

A garden—a thing made of light and of grace—
Where we *Bulbul*-like feast on her bright, witching face!
And her breath is so matchlessly sweet, it can vie
With the fragrance of blooms of the regions on high!
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

Oh, to gaze on fair Hind when the sun's merry glance,
On a bland vernal morning, is falling askance
On her rills, on her domes, on her peepals and sal,
And the sky-reaching glories of peerless Himal!
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

The peerless Himal, as he shines in his glory,
With his weird silver cap and his forehead, so hoary,
Like a sentry on duty, majestic and high,
He watches fair Ind with his blue-beaming eye,
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

She's a realm of enchantment, so lovely and bright,
With her numberless rivers disporting in light,
With her Indus and Brahmputra racing with force,
And her high-heaving Ganges wild rolling her course!
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

The dark bygone ages of rancour are flown !—
We are dwellers of Hind—and the land is our own !
Our religions they teach us fell discords to shun ;—
For we Hindus and Moslems and Parsees are one !
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be !

The Greeks and the Romans have left but a name,
For oblivion engulfs all their triumphs and fame ;—
But our dear Mother Ind, she has baffled dread Time !
Though the oldest on earth, she is still in her prime !
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be !

I love her, I love her, the land of my birth,
The home of the sages, the garden of earth !
She will stand, she will simle, in her beauty and bloom
Till the world with its greatness has pass'd to its doom !
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be !

RAGHUBIR NARAYANA.

II. THE NEW INDIAN NATION.

Labouring along a desolate mountain track
And upward, ever upward, climbing slow,
The shelving rocks we mounted : all was bare :
The steep slopes gave no footing to the pine,
The scanty grass was withered : here and there
In sheltered crannies tender clinging plants
Peeped, but in deeper clefts the winter frost
Still lingered sunless. Wearily at length
We reached the height, when all at once there blazed
A glory as if heaven had touched the earth
An dearth itself were heaven : in dewy beds,
Batoed in pure crystal rills from melted snows,
Alwhers, nodding their gay heads, spread o'er the ground
F shining raiment,—white anemones,
Like fleecy clouds, inwoven with clearest blue.

Leaders, whose passionate yearning to be free,
Bids you breast forward scale the barrier rocks
Of age-long prejudice and apathy,
Rousing your country from its wintry sleep,
Take heart of faith; for though the track be rough,
The way long and the people cold in death,
Ye yet shall reach those radiant mountain heights,
Where, from the grave of winter, shall arise
The spring flowers of a nation's second birth.

C. F. ANDREWS.

III. ARYA VARTA.

Land of broad waters, home of stalwart men,
Crowned by thy storm-swept coronal of snow,
In the dim past thou sawest the Aryans go,
Marching to victory down the mountain glen,

Young hearted, joyous. Thou wast glorious then.
The star of Arya Varta bright did glow,
And Arya Varta all the East did know.
How art thou fallen !—But thou shalt rise again.

For in the horoscope of life there lies,
A falling and a rising known to God,
It seasons unrevealed to mortal eyes,
And when each race, brought low beneath the rod,
Of stern decree, the destined course hath trod,
God's mercy stoops and lifts it to the skies.

C. F. ANDREWS.

IV. To Bharat: A Poem.

Oh wondrous charmer of the mighty Earth!
Oh fair reflector of her glorious sun,
Oh thou that gave this weakling heart its birth,
Oh motherland and fatherland in one!

The dark blue wavelets wash thy sacred feet,
The zephyrs quiver through thy robe of green
Thy azure skies are stirred in greeting sweet
By snowy peaks—Himalaya's crown of sheen

The earliest dawn that infant East e'er knew
First threw its radiance on thy glorious sky,
And psalms of heaven, fresh as morning dew
First in thy forests rose exulting high!

'Twas in thy wooded realms in days of yore
Were first revealed the teachings of the sage
And handed down these gems of holy lore
Still glorify the treasures of the age!

Oh motherland art blessed as Goddess fair
Throughout the length of many a distant shore
For showering on each foreign realm a share
Of that bright harvest from a bounteous store.

The Ganges and the Jumna's mingling flow
Are rivulets of thy compassion's streams:
And nectar rare is thy pure milk, we know;
Oh Motherland, oh parent of our dreams.

Lalita Gupta.

V. East and West.

Twin Sisters, severed by the ocean's might,
And destined thus to diverse clime's behest,
The One to grace the Orient, land of light,
Of warmth, of wisdom and of languorous rest;

The Other of her many charms to cheer
With wit and sparkle sunless Western skies,
Holding her heritage—*Womanhood* most dear,
She reigns and rules, a power, no man denies.

Sisters these Twain, though born of East and West,
In semblance diff'ring but in *soul* the same;
Wearing her sceptre each as she deems best,
Good deeds her glory, sympathy her fame.

Caroline Corner.

VI. Pledge.

"The East bow'd low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again."—Matthew Arnold.

O Indian friend, you ask me why
My people rule your land.
Would God that I might so reply
That you should clasp my hand!

Your ancient India's holy ground,
So the fond tales declare,
The destined Home of Saints was found,
Peaceful, as still 'tis fair.

The voice of Ind to heaven arose
Day-long, and as one soul's,
Constant as from the eternal Snows
Broad Ganga sea-ward rolls.

Those were the days of India's Saints,
Far in the Golden Age !
A loving hand the picture paints—
Dim forest, and the Sage ;

The bordering plain, wherein the folk,
Patient its gifts to save,
Toiled, like their oxen at the yoke,
Blameless, and strong, and brave ;

The crowded city, where the wain
Brought from the fields their wealth,
To prudent merchants, just in gain,
And doing naught by stealth.

What humming looms ! What ordered ways,
Where thick the crowds did wend
Past rich-built shrines, whence prayer and praise
Rose God-ward without end !

Fair palaces that none shall view
Rising again on earth ;
So radiant with each lovely hue,
So filled with wealth and worth !

There, open to his loving folk,
The King heard each man's prayer,
And daily with his people spoke,
Gracious to each and fair ;

The ruler of a willing realm,
Eager to learn as teach ;
The champion, buckler, sword and helm,
Of his whole folk, and each ;

Who kept the land inviolate,
Hasting a-field to war,
While India's Saints, early and late,
Gathered their sacred lore.

Ah, in the Golden Days was heaven
Men's first thought and their last !
'Twas when the first from last was riven
The Golden Age had passed.

How shall old days come back again
To Inda's holy soil ?—
Turn, India, turn, after long pain,
Back to thy sacred toil !

Where are the warrior kings of old
To keep her lands from woe,
As shepherds guard by night the fold,
From wolf, and thief, and foe ?

Call to thy native hosts, O Ind,
That they may ring thy land—
Thou callest to the formless wind :
It will not understand !

Turn to the race that Fate has brought,
Be it through storm or shine—
Thy hosts, through kindred valour taught,
Know us, that we are thine !

Then, take our heart now, with the hand,
O Ind, until we swerve,
Keeping the ring-fence of thy land,
That, see, we die to serve !

ANON.

VII. "ENTENTE CORDIALE."

The following poem was composed, as the talented poetess herself said in a note forwarding the poem for publication, on the occasion of the "marriage

of the daughter of Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, the Hindu Prime Minister of Hyderabad, with a Mahomedan gentleman." "It is not," as she continued, "often that a poet's idle dreaming finds such swift and sumptuous fulfilment, of all places in a stronghold of old customs and conflicting creeds."

He: Lift up the veils that darken the delicate moon of the glory and grace,
Withhold not, O Love! from the night of my longing, the joy of thy luminous face.
Give me a spear of the scented *Keora* guarding thy pinioned curls,
Or a silken thread of the fringes that ravish the dream of thy glimmering pearls,
Faint grows my soul with thy tresses' perfume, and the song of thy anklet's caprice . . . .
Revive me, I pray, with the magical nectar that dwells in the flower of thy kiss.

II.

She: How shall I yield to the voice of thy pleading, how shall I grant thy prayer?
Or give thee a rose-red silken tassel, a scented leaf from my hair?
Or cast in the flame of thy heart's desire the veils that cover my face?
Profane the law of my father's creed for a foe of my father's race?
Thy kinsmen have broken our sacred altars and slaughtered our sacred kine . . . .
The feud of old faiths and the blood of old battles sever thy people and mine.

III.

He: What are the sins of my race, beloved, what are my people to thee?
What are thy shrine and kine and kindred, what are thy gods to me?
Love recks not of feuds and bitter follies, of stranger, comrade or kin,
And one in his ear sound the temple-bells with the cry of the *Muezzin*.
For Love shall cancel the ancient quarrel and conquer the ancient rage,
And redeem with tears the memoried sorrow that sullied a by-gone age.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

The Times of India Illustrated Weekly Christmas Number, *1910*, is truly a magnificent publication, and we are unhesitatingly prepared to declare that it is quite unique in the annals of journalism in this country. Both in its letter-press and illustrations—with which it abounds—it is simply superb and is certainly the cheapest and best gift-book of the season. It deals with and illustrates most of the aspects of Indian and Anglo-Indian life and is, in fact, a richly-illustrated epitome of the lights and shadows, and the scenes and sights of modern India. We sincerely congratulate the enterprising proprietors of the *Times of India* on their having produced such a highly interesting Christmas Number, at Re. 1.

THE SCENES AND SIGHTS OF ALLAHABAD.

(a) A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ALLAHABAD CITY.*

I.

ALLAHABAD, the capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, a city of historic interest and 'political importance,' as the place where was uttered the dirge over the funeral of the late East India Company and where there was simultaneously inaugurated, by Lord Canning, the era of the sovereignty of the Queen-Empress Victoria, by the famous Proclamation of 1st November, 1858, with its royal promises of pardon, forgiveness, equal justice, religious toleration and non-annexation, is one of the noted and oldest cities of India. It will be a centre of considerable attraction during the last week of this year, as the trysting-place of the Indian National Congress, and a number of other well-known conferences—social, moral and industrial. Moreover, there will be drawn to it a large num-

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*1. H. G. Keene's "Handbooks for Visitors" series: *Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow.* Second Edition Revised; to which is added a chapter on Benares. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta,) 1896.

2. *Allahabad Guide and Directory.* ("The Pioneer" Press, Allahabad,) 1896.

3. "District Gazetteers of the United Provinces" series: *Allahabad* (Government Press, Allahabad,) 1884.

4. Article on "Allahabad" in vol. V of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* "Imperial Series." (The Clarendon Press, Oxford), 1908. The same to be found also in vol. II of *United Provinces,* being the "Provincial Series" of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India.*

5. *Picturesque India.* By (the late) W. S. Caine. (George Routloge & Sons, Limited, London) 1898.

6. *Murray's Handbook of the Bengal Presidency.* By (the late) Mr. Edward B. Eastwick. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London,) 1882.

7. *Murray's Handbook of India, Burma and Ceylon.* Seventh Edition, (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London,) 1910

8. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.* Two vols., edited by Dr. James Burgess. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1910.

9. Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports,* Vol I—(Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta) and *Ancient Geography of India.* (Trubner and Co., London) 1871.

10. *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India.* By Reginald Heber, D. D. Two vols. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1861.

11. *Travels of a Hindoo.* By (the late) Bholanath Chunder. Two vols. (Trubner & Co., London) 1869.

12. *More Tramps Abroad.* By (the late) "Mark. Twain." (Chatto & Windus, London.) 1898.

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ber of visitors, who will come to see the great United Provinces Exhibition, the principal attractions of which are set forth in a separate article in this issue. For the benefit of the visitors and the delegates to the various gatherings, we sketch out below the scenes and sights of Allahabad and trust they may be of some use to them in mapping out their time to the best advantage and in making the best of their stay in our city.

II.

Allahabad is a large, civil and military station situated some 316 feet above the sea-level. It stands on the wedge of the land forming the fork of the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, and, as such, it is regarded by the Hindoos as a place of the greatest sanctity. It has an excellent geographical position, the strength of natural boundaries, a fine climate and a great strategic value; hence its important position as the seat of a provincial Government and also as a large cantonment. "Allahabad stands," says Heber, "in, perhaps, the most favourable situation which India affords for a great city, in a dry and healthy soil, on a triangle at the juncture of two mighty streams, and capable of being fortified so as to become almost impregnable." It is the fifth largest city in the United Provinces, with a population in 1901 of 172,032. It is 514 miles from Calcutta and 844 miles from Bombay and is in easy railway communication with all parts of the country. Accommodation for visitors is limited to only one good hotel—Laurie's Great Northern, close to the station. But many temporary hotels—such as the Crescent, the Grand and others—have sprung up to cater for those who will come to see the Exhibition. The Exhibition authorities themselves have laid out excellent camps in their own grounds, full information about which is given in the article on the Exhibition. Camps also have been laid out by the Congress Committee for the delegates. Visitors would do well to stay in these camps, or they may experience great difficulty in the matter of conveyance, Allahabad being ill-supplied with carriages plying for hire. The East Indian Railway have put up a temporary station close to the Exhibition grounds, between which and their Allahabad station, trains will frequently run, during the period the Exhibition is open.

III.

As one of the oldest cities of India, Allahabad is a place with a history. Its ancient name is Pragag and it is known even now under that designation to the orthodox Hindoos.

tongue of land situated at the confluence of the two rivers, has been a holy spot for a long series of centuries. According to popular belief a third river—the Sarasvati—which disappears in the sand in the Sirhind plain, south-west of the Panjab and flows underground—re-appears here to unite with the Ganges and the Jamna; hence the confluence is known as *Tribeni*. No one has, of course, seen this *subterranean* river but that—as "Mark Twain" has it—"doesn't signify; the fact that it is there is enough." The two other rivers at the confluence are nearly equal in volume, the Ganges being the deeper is of yellow tint and reputed more wholesome than the brighter and more attractive water of its shallower and swifter dark-green sister, Jumna. In the dim distance of the earliest Indian history, traces of a city—or, at least, of a fort—at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, are to be observed. In the third volume of his spirited and interesting *resume* of the old Indian records (*History of India; Hindu, Buddhist and Brahmanical*) Mr. Talboys Wheeler thus refers to the place :—

> The one point of paramount importance in all Hindustan is Allahabad, the ancient Prayaga. Here the Vedic rishis, inspired alike by poetic fancy and religious fervour, would approach the union of the two river deities with reverential awe. Here the Aryan Kshatryas, with true military instinct, appear to have constructed a fortress which secured all the conquests on the upper valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges.

From Tod we learn that the traditions of Rajasthan point to Prayaga as the most ancient city of the Rajputs. His words are :—

> The ancient annals of the Jesalmer family of the Yadu stock give the priority of foundation to Prayag at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges. The Prasu were the descendants of Pooru of Poorag, visited by Megasthenes, ambassador of Selucus.

Tod wrote before the full day-spring of ethnologic science and was by nature credulous and talkative. But he knew the Rajput records; and his book is truly, in his own modest words, "a copious collection of materials for the future historian." There is thus no reason to doubt that a city stood where the rivers meet, in the days of the Macedonian empire. Mr. Wheeler is right in saying that from the days of the Vedic Aryans, down to the present day, Prayag has never ceased to be the holiest spot in Hindustan, "the field of happiness", where it is as meritorious to bestow the smallest copper coin in alms as it would be to lavish a lakh elsewhere.

IV.

The earliest monument of antiquity at Allahabad, is one of the famous Asoka's pillars, now standing in the Fort, which, there are reasons to believe, was originally put up by the great Emperor Asoka

at some distance from its present position. The city was visited by Megasthenes in the third century B. C. and by Hiuen Tsiang, the Buddhist scholar, in the seventh century A. D., who found Prayag inhabited by many "heretics" *i. e.*, Hindoos, who regarded it, we are told, as a very sacred place. The Chinese pilgrim was present at Allahabad on the occasion of the great feast held by Sri Harsha. Where now Akbar's Fort stands, there was, it is surmised, a Hindu citadel, which the great Moghul Emperor utilised in the construction of his once magnificent but now too-much modernised stronghold. From this time onward, Allahabad—as the place now came to be called—was the capital of a *suba* or province. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, prince Salim—afterwards the Emperor Jahangeer,—resided in the Fort as the Governor of the province. Throughout the eighteenth century the city experienced the usual reverses of Upper India, during the disastrous period of the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire. In 1747, the city and the government of the province of which it was the capital, passed into the hands of Abdul Mansur Khan, Safdar Jang, the then Nawab of Oudh, whose tomb is one of the larger monuments of Delhi. After the battle of Buxar in 1764, between the British and the Nawab of Oudh, Allahabad and the adjacent territory were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Nawab to that of the nominal Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam II. A few years later, Shah Alam granted the Allahabad territory to the Marhattas, whereupon the British declared it to have escheated and sold it to the Nawab of Oudh, for fifty lakhs. In 1801, the city and the territory were ceded by the Nawab of Oudh to the British, since when its vicissitudes of fortune have come to an end. In 1834, on the constitution of the then North-Western Provinces as a separate territorial jurisdition, Allahabad became the seat of the government of the new province. In 1835, however, the capital was removed to Agra. In 1858, after the suppression of the Mutiny, it again became the seat of the resconstituted North-Western Provinces; while in 1877, on the amalgamation of Oudh with the neighbouring province, Allahabad naturally became the provincial capital of the United Provinces, which it has remained ever since. And "though neither central in situation, nor important as a commercial mart, its startegic value," says Mr. Keene, "is great and the money that has been sunk on the public offices will always render it a matter of serious consideration to depose it from its eminence as a provincial metropolis."

V.

When Heber visited the city in 1824, he found Allahabad "small with very poor houses and narrow irregular streets." There have been many improvements since, and the place is now one of growing importance. Though there is nothing particularly attractive or remarkable in the Indian city, it may nevertheless court favourabe comparison with most of the cities of Upper India. But the gloly of modern Allahabad is its civil station, which was laid out—on what is called the "American plan," *i.e.*, along the sides of wide streets or roads, crossing each other at right angles—after the removal of the provincial metropolis from Agra in 1858. All visitors to Allahabad are struck with the neatness, cleanliness and picturesqueness of the civil station, which is called Canning Town (in common parlance "Cannington") after "Clemency Canning," the first Viceroy of India, during whose administration of glorious memory, it wa laid out. It will be sufficient to quote here the testimon of one competent observer—a world-traveller—the late "Mark Twain." The civil station of Allahabad, says he, is

a town of wide avenues and noble distances and is comely and illuring,and full of suggestion of comfort and leisure and of the serenity which a good con science buttressed by a sufficient bank account gives. The bungalows (dwellings) stand well back in the seclusion and privacy of large enclosed compounds (private grounds as we shall say) and in the shade and shelter of trees. Even the ph tographer and the prosperous merchant ply their industries in the elegant reseive of big compounds and the citizens drive in there upon their business occasions.

The civil station is fairly well-equipped with such public edifices as are the usual concomitants of a provincial capital. There are four two-storied blocks of buildings in the classic style, faced with sandstone and ashlar, built in 1870, at the cost of thirteen lakhs of rupees. The High Court and the Board of Revenue occupy those to one side of the road, the Government Secretariat and the Accountant-General's Office those to the other. Close by is an extensive block of buildings, built at the cost of two a quarter lakhs of rupees, in which is housed the Government Press. The Mayo Memorial comprises a large hall and a tower 180 feet in height. The interior is decorated with designs furnished by Professor Gamble of the South Kensington Museum and is used as a town-hall for holding public meetings and theatricals. It cost one and three-quarter lakhs of rupees raised from public and private subscription in memory of Lord Mayo, of whom there is an excellent bust in it by Boehm. It was opened by Lord Lytton,

who remarked that it was not the ideal of æsthetic beauty, as "it had," said his lordship, "some incongruous peculiarities." Its general effect is not that of repose, but in its external aspect it is full of variety and within doors it is thoroughly comfortable and practicable. The Muir Central College is one of the most important educational institutions in Northern India. Its foundation stone was laid by Lord Northbrook in 1874. It is built in the form of a quadrangle. On its south is a spacious and beautifully-designed hall, which is used for holding the convocation of the Allahabad University. It is surmounted by a large dome, with a beautiful and lofty tower at the corner, from the top of which one commands a splendid view of the landscape. The building is designed in the Indo-saracenic style and cost some ten lakhs of rupees. In the hall is a statue of Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant-Governor of the then North-Western Provinces, after whom the college is named. The only other building that deserves a visit is the Thornhill-Mayne Memorial, which contains the public library and which is a beautiful building, situated in the Alfred Park, and was completed in 1878, at a cost of nearly two lakhs of rupees. The Alfred Park was laid out in 1870 to commemorate the visit of the late Duke of Edinburgh (uncle of our King-Emperor George), who was the first member of the British royal family to visit India. It has an area of 134 acres and is prettily laid out. The band-stand about the middle of the Park is surrounded with flower beds and grassy plots. The footways, rides and drives are well-sheltered by trees and are used for exercise and recreation. Close to the band-stand is the Victoria Memorial.

VI.

Amongst the sights of Allahabad dating from the times of the Moghuls, the only two worth visiting are the Khusru Bagh and the Fort. On the city side of the railway station and almost facing the entrance, is an old archway overgrown with creepers, through which one enters an extensive and well-kept garden, surrounded by a high wall. It was probably laid out by Prince Salim (afterwards the Emperor Jahangeer) when he was Governor, towards the end ot Akbar's life, of the province of Allahabad. He lived in the Fort but used the gardens as his pleasure ground. One of his sons—born of one of his Hindoo wives, a daughter of Raja Bhagwan Dass of Jaipore—was Khusru, who was born in 1588. In 1605, Khusru rebelled against his father, but was routed by the Imperial troops, was made a prisoner and

made over to be kept in custody by his younger step-brother, Prince Khurram, (afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan) who also, like Khusru, was born of a Hindoo mother, a princess of the house of Jodhpur. While in Prince Khurram's custody, Khusru died in 1615 and Jahangeer erected in honour of his memory—now that he could be troubled by him no more—a handsome mausoleum in the garden at Allahabad, close to the one in which his mother had been interred in 1606. The mausoleum -as appears from an inscription—was completed in 1623 It is a large and handsome domed building in the style of which Humayoon's mausoleum at Delhi and the Taj at Agra are the best-known specimens. The real tomb—as usual in Moghul sepulchres—is underground, but the domed building containing the cenotaph is large and lofty and the plaster of the interior is covered with paintings (now much faded) of birds and flowers in a style which must once have been brilliant and is still full of spirit. A littte westward of Khusru's tomb is another handsome mausoleum, but it is believed to have not been utilised as such. The next, a quaint four-sided, two-storied building at the four corners of which are turrets with cupolas, is the tomb of the Jaipur princess, the mother of Khusru, who is called in the inscription "Shah Begam."

This is how Heber describes these tombs :—

Each consists of a large terrace with vaulted apartments beneath it, in the central one of which is a tomb like a stone coffin richly carved. Above is a very lofty circular apartment, covered by a doome richly painted within and without carved yet more beautifully. All these are very solemn and striking, rich but not florid or gaudy and completely giving the lie to the notion common in Europe, which regards all eastern architecture as "barbarous."

The gardens, named after Khusru, ever since his mausoleum, was built in it, was " a neglected garden " in Heber's time, but is now kept up in good condition by the Municipality and is the favourite resort of the residents of the city, as a place for *fetes* and open-air gatherings. It is also used as a park for purposes of exercise and recreation. The gardens now also contain the water-works and the reservoirs. The visitor had better get out of the gardens through the gate on the opposite side, which leads into a Moghul *Sarai* which and the Khusru gardens, Heber declared to be " the finest things in Allahabad." The *Sarai*, says Heber, " is a noble quadrangle with four fine Gothic gateways, surrounded with an embattled wall by a range of cloisters for the accommodation of travellers". Though the whole is now much dilapidated, one can yet trace in it the lineaments of its once noble proportions and grandeur.

VII.

Visitors to the Khusru gardens and the *Sarai* will certainly come to take an interest in the fortunes of the ill-fated Khusru and the following free but excellent rendering into English verse by Mr. H. G. Keene, of the pathetic inscriptions in Persian over his tomb, is therefore likely to appeal to them:—

Ah! woe that in high Heavens award Caprice should conquer Right
Twas even so that came the woe, when Justice took to flight.
When life beyond the bounds of Bliss her canvas house unfurled,
Because Corruption sapped the deep foundations of the world.

The world has felt Heaven's terrors; for wherever the flames have spread,
The very ashes out of sight are altogether sped.
Autumn, he knew, is coming when the fullest bloom is seen,
Yet wisdom he forwent to be the *Bulbul* of the green.

But what avails the verdure when the thorn of death at last
Its hundred steel points through the folds of silken robes has cast?
Or how should I the truth declare with lips that sighing burns,
While the globe rolls her freight of souls the truth that still returns?
"The flower that sprang, the bird that sang have perished on the thorn;
For whom the Earth laments below, the Sky above them mourns!"

And thus the robe of Majesty was turned to punishment,
When Sultan Khusru got the word to march and strike his tent.
And that fair body which had scarcely brooked the garb of mirth,
Woe's me! was fain to bear, as best it might, the load of earth.

On the tomb of his mother is an inscription, of which the following is the rendering into English verse by the late Mr. E. B. Eastwick:

When the sky's wheel had left its wonted course.
She hid herself beneath the earth perforce.
When I enquired the date of her decease
Fate said "the Empress has eternal peace."

On the sarcophagus is the following, as rendered by Mr Eastwick:

The realm of Hades is adorned with light
And Mercy makes the Queen's chaste features bright.

VIII.

The Fort, built by Akbar in 1575, on the site of an old Hindoo citadel, is still known after the founder as Akbar's Fort. It is thus described by Heber:—

The Fort stands on the point of the triangle formd by the two rivers and is strong both naturally and artificially. It has been a very noble castle but has suffered in its external appearance as much as it has probably gained in strength by the modernisation which it has undergone from its present masters—its lofty towers being pruned down into bastions and cavaliers and its high stone

rampart topped with turf parapets and obscured by a green sloping glacis. It is till, however, a striking place ; and its principal gate, surmounted by a dome, with a wide hall beneath surrounded by arcades and galleries and ornamented with rude but glowing paintings, is the noblest entrance I ever saw to a place of arms. This has been, I think, injudiciously modernized without after the Gecian or Italian style ; but within, the high Gothic arches and the paintings remain.

The process of modernisation noticed by Heber, which spoilt the picturesque character of this mediæval castle, in the name of "improvements" dictated by the military science of the day, has, of course, gone on since, to the great detriment of the æsthetic value of the Fort ; but "the worst part of the business," says Mr. Keene, "is not this so much as the wanton facing of the massive and yet graceful Moghul structures with hideous plaster masonry, in which the Greek order is introduced in the most uncompromising style of the late ill-famed Military Board." This "ill-famed Military Board." fastened with peculiar gusto on the gateway described by Heber as "the noblest entrance," and has so vilely metamorphosed it, that it is now almost impossible to trace it in the nucleus of one of the ravelins of the modern fortification.. The rest of the palace exists in the same eclipsed condition and is completely disguised for the worse. Thus the changes rendered necessary by modern military exigencies, have almost wholly detracted from the value of the Fort as a relic of antiquity and from its picturesque appearance also. This is particularly regrettable in the case of the noble edifice converted into an arsenal and, says Mr. Eastwick, "sadly disfigured by the Public Works Department, which has whitewashed it all over." Fergusson in his monumental *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* has the following remarks on the subject :—

The British having appropriated the Fort, its glories have been nearly obliterated. The most beautiful thing was the pavilion, the "Chalis Satoon" or "forty pillars"—so called from its having that number on the principal floor, disposed in two concentric octagonal ranges, one internal of sixteen pillars, the other outside of twenty-four. Above this, supported by the inner colonnade was an upper range of the same number of pillars crowned by a dome. This building has entirely disappeared, its materials being wanted to repair the fortifications. The great hall, however, still remains, formed into an arsenal. A brick wall was run up between its outer colonnades with windows of British architecture and its curious pavilions and other accompaniments removed ; and naturally, whatever could not be conveniently cut away was covered up with plaster and whitewash and hid by stands of arms and deal fittings. Still its plan can be made out : a square hall supported by eight rows of columns, eight in each row, thus making in all sixty-four, surrounded by a deep verandah of double columns with groups of four at the angles, all surmounted by bracket

capitals of the most elegant and richest design and altogether as fine in style and as rich in ornament as anything in India

Such is the result of the occupation of the great Akbar's Fort by "the British barbarians." No wonder that the late Mr. W. S. Caine wrote that "it is a disgrace to the Indian Government that it is not restored, as far as may now be possible." "There is not a single building of this once magnificent palace," he rightly added "that can be looked at without sorrow and disgust." Instead of being able to appreciate the beauties of the "Chalis Satoon," one, until recently, found in it—after having obtained the necessary permission to visit the arsenal—"scores of Indian artificers who have acquired such skill in gun-making and in preparing ammunition that they can turn out the rifles and cartridges with as much skill as the workmen in London." Thanks, however, to the great interest taken by Lord Curzon in the restoration and preservations of our archæological monuments, this noble Audience Hall has recently been restored, so far as it was possible, to its original condition, and though still enclosed by the arsenal, access to it is now to be had, by permission of the local military authorities. All visitors to Allahabad should make it a point to see this yet magnificent Akbar's Hall of Audience.

In the open space in the centre of the Fort will be seen an object of real importance in excellent preservation—namely, the lofty and elegant monolith of Asoka. The most accurate and instructive description of this ancient monument is to be found in the first volume of Cunningham's *Archæological Reports.* It is of highly polished stone and stands forty-nine feet and a half above the ground. On it are inscribed the world-famous edicts of Asoka (*circa* 240 B. C.) also a record of Samudra Gupta's victories in the fourth century A. D., and one by Jahangir to commemorate his accession to the throne in 1605 A. D. There are also minor inscriptions, beginning almost from the Christian era. According to James Prinsep, who deciphered the Asoka inscriptions in 1838, the insertion of some of these inscriptions shows that the pillar was lying on the ground when they were cut. It was set up in its present site, in 1838, by Captain Edward Smith of the Engineers. The only other object which may be visited in the Fort is the stump of a tree called *Akkshai bar* or "the undecaying banyan tree." It is situated underground at one side of a pillared court or crypt which Cunningham thinks was "open formerly" and which he believed to be "the remains

of the temple described by Hiouen Thsang." Visitors interested in the subject may refer to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* in which he gives a luminous sketch of the probable changes in the locality of the *Akkshay bar*, which is of little interest, however, to the average sight-seer. The tree is reached by proceeding straight on from Asoka's pillar towards a deep octagonal well, flanked by two vaulted octagonal chambers. A few steps from here lead to a dark under-ground passage which goes 35 feet straight to the east, then south 30 feet to the tree. As no tree could possible live in such a situation, it is fairly certain that the stump is renewed, from time to time.

IX.

The best view of the confluence of the rivers is to be had from the ramparts of the Fort. "There is scarcely a lovelier spot than the *Sangam* (confluence) at Allahabad," writes the Bengalee traveller, Mr. Bholanath Chunder. "The broad expanse of the waters, the verdant banks, and the picturesque scenery," he continues, "tell upon the mind and fascinate the pilgrims." It is from the ramparts overlooking the confluence that one realizes that the Fort has the same best situation in all the city, that the city has in all India. Below the Fort stretches a wide expanse of sand, on which is held the annual fair in January, the six-yearly *Ardh Kumbh* fair and the twelve-yearly fair, the *Kumbh*. At the annual fair of 1904, it was estimated that a quarter of a million of people were present on the great bathing day, while at the *Kumbh* fair in 1894, no less than a million people were present. These fairs are held on the spit of land, or rather sand, some two miles long and are one of the sights of India. For several weeks the place is turned into a great city of grass and reeds, the pilgrims living in rude hastily-put-up huts of wattles. The main street, a mile long, is taken up with booths, tents, and preaching platforms; priests, pilgrims, hawkers, palanquins, missionaries, *fakirs*, beggars, six-legged cows, country carts, musicians, devotees, scoffers and sight-seers, jostling along one another in one vast, noisy stream. On a little platform may be seen a dwarf, who has the faculty of twisting all his joints about under his skin, till his arms and legs look like a bag of eels; a dusty-ringletted *fakir*—who has been standing for fifteen years, who has gone to sleep in the midst of the Babel, leaning on a board slung from a tripod of bamboos; another of his fraternity lies on his face in the dust, in yelling contortions; a ragged ascetic who has crawled across India on his hand and knees; and another who has come down from the

Hymalyan country measuring his full length on the ground, every three steps; another has not spoken to a soul for twenty years and sits in still contemplation on a heap of ashes; yet another has his arm in the air, withered and rigid by long continuance. All are in rags, some are clad only in long matted hair and ashes and all are held in profound veneration by the masses, who give them rice, grain, fruit, and small coin which they accept with stony indifference. Such are some only of the scenes and sights of the great fair held annually at Allahabad and a visit to it is interesting to those who care to realize Indian diversity on the background of Indian unity. And here, too. our pregrinations may well come to an end.

IX.

A word may be added here as to social and intellectual life of Allahabad. The social needs of the Anglo-Indian and Indian communities find satisfaction in two clubs—the Allahabad Club for the former, and the Indian Club of the latter. The Allahabad Club was established in 1868, as the North-Western Provinces Club, but it assumed its present name when the former name of these provinces was changed some years back into what it now bears. The Club stands on the Stanley Road and has residential chambers attached to it. It is well-equipped with all the appliances for affording to its members both exercise and recreation. The Indian Club was established in 1907 and it provides its members with all their requirements. It stands on the Thornhill Road. The intellectual life of the city—apart from the educational institutions and the public library housed in the Thornhill-Mayne Memorial in the Alfred Park, mentioned above—mainly finds its outlet in journalism, of which the three principal organs are the two dailies, the *Pioneer* and the *Leader*—and one monthly, the *Hindustan Review*. The Indo-Mussalman renaissance has also found expression, since January last, in an Allahabad monthly, called the *Muslim Review*.

Of the two dailies, the *Pioneer* was founded in 1865 as a tri-weekly, by the late Sir George Allen and became a daily in 1868. It has been edited by a succession of great Anglo-Indian journalists, of whom perhaps the most distinguished is Mr. G. M. Chesney, who has—with short intervals of absence—occupied, with great credit, the editorial chair for now nearly twenty years. The *Pioneer* figures prominently in most books of travel in India and critics abuse or praise it according to their political leanings and temperament. It has even been referred to in Anglo-Indian fiction

The late Mr. Marion Crawford called it, in his well-known romance *Mr. Isaacs*, the *Allahabad Daily Howler.* And here are the observations of the late Mr. W. S. Caine about it :—

Allahabad publishes the most important and influential paper in India, the well-known *Pioneer*, edited with much skill and enterprise, attracting to its service the ablest young journalists in India, and keeping up a staff of correspondents in every important centre of influence throughout the country. Its politics are severely conservative and its bias all on the side of the Government, whose confidential organ it aspires to be. It is uncompromisingly hostile to the rising ambitions of educated Indians. It is a curious fact that the Calcutta press has never had half the influence in India possessed by the *Pioneer*, which occupies in its way the same unique position as the *Times* in England or the *Scotsman* in Scotland.

The latest writer on India, Mr. Ramasy Macdonald, thus writes about the *Pioneer* in his *Awakening of India* :—

The *Pioneer* is only a shade better (than the *Englishman.*) It is superior, it is conservative and it never does an English Liberal or an educated Indian justice, if it can help it.

The *Leader*. is the natural outcome of the political upheaval called forth by the establishment of the *Hindustan Review* in July, 1900, and which culminated in the appearance of the weekly, the *Indian People*, in January, 1903. Its success was so great that it became a semi-weekly in January, 1904, and it continued to appear twice a week, until, on the 24th of October last year, it appeared completely metamorphosed as a high-class daily, under a new name as the *Leader*. As the second Indian daily to subscribe to Reuter's service of foreign news, it soon made its mark as the best-equipped *newspaper* in Upper India, while its expression of public opinion has been acknowleged to be characterized by sanity, fairness and moderation. The *Hindustan Review* which inaugurated the movement of which the *Leader* is the natural resultant, is yet—to use an expressive Americanism—" alive and kicking." Its influence has been rapidly extending in all parts of the English-speaking world and scarcely an intelligent traveller in India records his impressions of the country without making some reference to this periodical. In both the important Anglo-Indian publications of the year—M. Joseph Chailley's *Administrative Problems of British India* and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's book mentioned above—we find references to this periodical. M. Chailley in dealing with the Indian press mentions the *Hindustan Review* amongst the "honourable exceptions" whose "scholarly editors satisfy moderate and reasonable readers." Mr. MacDonald writes :—

The intellectual sides of the national movement are being well looked after. Three reviews of distinction voice Indian nationalism : the *Indian Review*, the *Hindustan Review*, which is the most severely political and moderate ; the *Modern Review*, which shows all the characteristics of the Bengal spirit and is most in sympathy with the left wing.

(b) A BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW OF ALLAHABAD'S NEW WHITE CITY : THE UNITED PROVINCES EXHIBITION.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE great Exhibition at Allahabad, which is misnamed "The United Provinces Exhibition", is really an All-India Exposition, and it may unhesitatingly be declared that no such collection of the arts and industries of India and of some of the latest results of human progress, has ever been brought together in this country. It is certainly, so far as India is concerned, the greatest show of its kind that has so far been held. The Exhibition authorities have rightly done all that was possible to popularize it, by pressing its attractions on the attention of the public, by means of advertisements, circulation of an excellently-compiled prospectus and, more recently, by the publication of a bulky handbook, beautifully illustrated, divided into fifteen chapters, the first of which is a general introduction to the subject, the second a topographical sketch, and the succeeding chapters accounts of the different courts and buildings. A second edition of it, to be published early next year, will give even a more detailed description of each exhibit. The prospectus referred to above, (now in its second edition) also gives much information about the Exhibition, especially that of a practical character. And yet there will be many visitors who would like to have a handier guide than either the prospectus or the handbook, and it is for the behoof of this large class of sight seers that the present sketch is intended. It is based upon materials derived from various sources—but is partially a reprint with necessary additions and alterations, of a series of communications in the *Statesman*, sent by Mr. Walter Exley, its special correspondent, and in the *Englishman* sent by its special correspondent, Mr. Ryan, which have been supplemented by the information supplied by the Exhibition authorities, along with that contained in their publications and in the very well-written communiques to the press, giving vivid and graphic sketches of the various courts and exhibits, issued by Mr. Jagdish Sahay Vatal, the able Editorial Assistant to Mr. G. R. Murray, C. S., the most indefatiguable and energetic Secretary of the Exhibition Committee. For such merit, therefore, as this brief sketch may possess, acknowledgment is due to the special correspondents mentioned above, to Mr. Jagdish Sahay Vatal, the writer of the very interesting press communiques, but for whose valuable assistance, ungrudgingly given, this sketch would not have been half so useful and comprehensive as it may now claim to be. Last, but not least, we are under great obligation to Mr. G. R. Murray himself, for his interest in this sketch and without which we would not have been able to obtain those facilities which we have had. Attention is particularly invited to the topographical map accompanying this sketch and for which also our thanks are due to the Exhibition authorities.

I. THE SITE.

In the selection of the site for the Exhibition, the Committee have been particularly fortunate. It is bounded on one side by the river Jumna, alongside which runs one of the main roads leading from one end of the Exhibition to the other. Standing on this road one can see the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, while away to the east is the Fort, a somewhat grim and business-like-looking building, in sharp contrast to the light fairy palaces of the Exhibition

itself. Away to the north are the visitor's camps and beyond them, some three miles away, the city of Allahabad. The view from the high bank of the river, pretty as it must be at any time, is picturesque in the extreme, especially at night when the courts and grounds are ablaze with electric lights.

Situated thus on a most picturesque situation by the bank of the Jumna, between the Fort and the city, the Allahabad Exhibition encloses within its boundaries about one hundred acres. The situation on the high bank commands a beautiful view of the river and affords unique opportunities for watching displays on the water, such as regattas and fireworks. It would thus be seen that the Exhibition courts and camps stand upon a site that for picturesqueness and convenience alike would be hard to rival. The limpid Jumna sweeps here in a noble curve, between high banks from the bastions of the Fort, to where the broad railway bridge, with its lattices and armoured gates, spans it upon tall stone piers. Once the city came right up almost to the walls of Allahabad Fort. But lately the ground was cleared in all directions, so as to leave a great glacis, and a wide plain, the city being pushed back right to the distant bridge. In the open plain thus formed, the city of the Exhibition has been raised. From the Jumna banks, and the historic *ghat* where till the railhead reached Allahabad, the river steamers came regularly, where Lord Canning landed, to read the famous Proclamation in 1858, stretching northwards, over a hundred acres has been walled in for the Exhibition buildings and courts Beyond this again stretch the hundreds of other acres, cleared and made fair with roads, brilliant with lights and comfortable with white-winged tents.

II. Practical Information.

Before showing round visitors the many attractions of the Exhibition, it is desirable to supply them with practical information as to the means of conveyance, accommodation and other necessary requirements. As to the means of conveyance, visitors who come by excursion trains to the Exhibition, will be carried direct to the Central Gate Station, just outside the grounds. Arrangements have also been made for motor and tonga services from the Allahabad Main Station to the Exhibition. Special carriages have also been put on to convey the visitors thither. Inside the grounds there is a service of one hundred rickshaws, for those who find a tramp round one hundred acres of ground too fatiguing. These have been brought direct from Tokio.

The Exhibition camps, which cover over three hundred acres of ground, accommodate six hundred people, half of which accommodation is set apart for visitors living in European style. Each visitor is given a separate fully-furnished tent, for which the charge is twelve rupees a day, with an additional charge of one rupee a day for electric lighting and hot baths. The visitor who intends to stay for some days at the Exhibition will find the camp a good and comfortable place to stay at, as it will save him the long drive of over three miles to the city; and moreover, Allahabad is not over-stocked with good hotels, and no special preparations have been made by the hotel-keepers to meet additional demands for accommodation in consequence of the Exhibition, unless it be the putting up of prices. In addition to this camp, there is a separate camp for Hindu and Mahomedan visitors, fifty of each, who are charged three rupees a day;

and other camps giving accommodation for European and Indian exhibitors. There are also a number of unfurnished tents to let to Indian exhibitors, and further away is an open space which is to let for camps at Rs. 200 per acre, per month. About three miles distant is a special camping ground for Maharajas, zamindars and others, who bring with them a large retinue of servants.

To the right and left, inside the main gateway, are twin buildings containing the combined Telegraph and the Post, and the Exhibition Offices respectively. At the Post and Telegraph Office, one is not only able to despatch letters and telegrams, but also to see the work of these departments in course of operation. The whole process of sending and receiving telegrams is shown, as also the carrying and sorting of letters and parcels by both land and sea ; the latter by means of working models of trains and a P. and O. steamer. A wireless telegraphic installation affords the latest contrast with the original, ancient semaphores. One portion of the Exhibition Office is used as an Intelligence Bureau, where any information with regard to the Exhibition is obtainable, and where the buyer and the seller may be brought into touch one with the other.

A perfect system of the telephonic communication connects every building in the grounds. It may be added that the catering in the camp for visitors living in European style and also in the European restaurant is in charge of Messrs. G. F. Kellner & Co., whose reputation, in their own line, stands second to that of no other firm in India. Ample arrangements have also been made for refreshments being served in both Hindu and Mussalman styles ; so no one is likely to suffer from want of "creature comforts" for the "inner man." These three restaurants, at the southern end of the main square, are very pretty places. When the band is playing—and it might be mentioned here that the band of the 2nd Gurkhas plays daily—this court-yard forms an ideal social gathering-ground and promenade

Last, but not least, it may be added that the Allahabad Bank and the Bank of Upper India, have opened branch offices in the grounds, for the convenience of visitors and exhibitors and a number of firms from Cacultta and other places have opened branches of their establishments. There is also a circulating library in the visitors' camp.

III.—The Climate, Water, Drainage and Lighting.

The climate of Allahabad in winter, is ideal, dry, bright, and bracing. The days are warm enough to thaw pleasantly the most sluggish and frozen blood. The nights are delightful whether spent by the hardy beside bright camp fires that twinkle answers to the stars peeping out of deep blue velvet skies, or by the chillier brethern in well-warmed rooms or cosy tents, and between the blankets, whose comfort forms one of the dreams of those who pass their exile about the Equator. The mornings and evenings have that touch of healing frost, that snap, that whips and enriches the blood grown thin and poor by over-long existence in the hot houses of the moist warm southern lands. It tones up the relaxed skins, and closes the pores turned soft and blotting-papery by undue exudation.

Above a land gracious green with bushy lentils, plumy pulses and creeping gram, bright with the scented, yellow rye and scarlet-crested amaranth, bends a

sky intensely blue, sparingly flecked with high aloof clouds that give the mild, light Christmas showers. Coming from the west or the south, the north or the east, the visitor or tourist making for Allahabad, and the other historic cities scattered so abundantly in this great tract of country that has seen so much of the making of India's history, will move through a land gracious and pleasant as rich and interesting. The late rains have maintained the fields green that would else be brown, have filled the landscape with the gaiety and grace of wind-tickled waters, and multiplied the energies as the rewards of the husbandman. The fields are populous with busy men and women, with cattle that have a sleekness all too unaccustomed. The roads, the villages beside the iron tracks, the squares and bazaars of the towns, are filled with happy, busy vocal crowds of gaily-clad holiday-makers and chafferers, for this is a year of great pilgrimages, as well as of comfort and commercial activity.

Filtered water is copiously available. A special main has been laid by the Municipality and it runs through the Exhibition grounds to supply drinking water. Unfiltered water is pumped from the Jumna and is used for cattle, watering the ground, flushing drains and other purposes.

The sanitary arrangements are perfect. All liquid waste and filth is carried by glazed ware pipe, laid underground. Manholes with covers have been provided every hundred feet throughout. The outfall is into the Jumna below the Exhibition grounds.

All lighting and most of the power supplied to the Exhibition is by electricity. The total capacity of the plant is of one-thousand horse-power and consists of three different types of prime mover: steam, gas and oil. The entire external lighting of the Exhibition is done by 200 arc lamps of 3,000 candle power each and 60 kitson lamps of 1,000 candle power each. The internal lighting of the buildings in the Exhibition is effected by means of metallic filament high efficiency lamps. The electrical power house, which supplies electricity to light up the whole of the grounds and the camps and also power to run the electrically-driven machinery, is under the direction of Mr. Pitt Keighley, Electrical Engineer to the local government, and the system is a very complete one, full precautions having been taken to give an alternative supply of light and power in case of a breakdown.

IV. AMUSEMENTS.

The lighter side of the Exhibition is really a most important section, and appeals to by far the larger number of visitors. The amusements provided are many and various, ranging from an old-fashioned English merry-go-round to an aviation meeting, and comprising something to appeal to everyone. The plot of ground between the main avenue and the Fort has been turned into a huge play-ground, where the visitor, who is in a frolicsome mood, can have the time of his life. If he fancies a theatrical or a bioscope show, there it is at his elbow; he can whizz round on a pair of rollers in the skating rink, or can be entertained in the circus. Weird machines with still more weird names, such as the Joy-wheel, the Wiggle-Woggle, and a lighthouse (which he climbs up inside and slides down outside) rejoicing in the name of "On the Mat," will give him the queerest sensations; while by a trip on the scenic railway he can visit such far-apart places as Windsor Castle and the Taj in the course of a few

moments. Darjeeling, Benares, Agra and Udaipur are some of the places of which scenes are shown.

The lover of sport will also find himself well catered for. A capital polo ground has been laid out, where some of the best teams in India will compete in the open Tournament. A big grandstand of earth has been built up on the Exhibition side of the ground, so that visitors will be able to see the games in comfort. Here, too, the aviation meeting will be held, at intervals during the period the Exhibttion is open, by two well-known aviators—Messrs. Piquet and Davies, and a better position for this, the newest of all sports, could not be imagined. From the grand-stand the spectator will be able to see the "airmen"—several of whom have expressed their intention of coming out to take part—start their machines on the banks of the Jumna, and will have a good view of them for a long distance. Altogether this, the first display of aviation in India, should prove a memorable land-mark in Indian history and perhaps the commencement of a new chapter in the records of progress and civilization. Another attraction will be a wrestling competition for Indian wrestlers in which the leading champions of India will compete. Amongst them will be the famous Punjabi wrestlers, Keekar Singh and Gama, who recently distinguished himself in London, and whose sturdy display agianst Zbysco, a few weeks back, is still fresh in the minds of the public. That bout, it will be remembered resulted in a draw, neither man being able to throw the other, after a struggle lasting more than two hours, and Gama was eventually awarded the verdict, as his opponent had to leave London for his home before the date fixed for the deciding bout.

One of the principal features in the amusement section at the Exhibition, is the theatre near the Polo ground. It is a strong iron structure fitted up in a very comfortable style with accommodation for eight hundred people and the house is so constructed that each of the seats will afford a good view of the stage. Nor will English performances only hold the stage : Indian pieces in Hindustani will also be put on and various other Indian entertainments of a high class order. It is an especial wish of the Committee in charge of amusements at the Exhibition to give Indian musicians an opportunity of displaying their skill and thus foster Indian art of music, so much in danger in these days of degenerating or becoming an unlovely hybrid. Every Sunday has been set apart for Indian music and the very best musicians of India have been invited to perform. Those interested in Indian music can revel to their heart's content in the musical performances of the famous artiste of Calcutta—Miss Gauhar Jan.

A military display and assault-at-arms have also been arranged for ; as well an Oriental Pageant, which will include representations of leading incidents in Indian history It will be one of the most distinctive features of the Exhibition. Regattas will be held on the river from time to time, also Venetian fetes and fireworks displays, and for these no ground could be better situated than that on which the Exhibition is held. Fifteen displays of fireworks will be given during the period the Exhibition is open by the well-known firm of Messrs C.T. Brock and Co., who are out-and-out the best artists in pyrotechnics, in the United Kingdom. It will thus be reailzed that visitors have no time to be dull, and that when they are tired of looking at the wonders of the world and of this most wonderful India in the courts, they will be able to spend happy hours in the amusement ground.

The Exhibition is thus a self-contained city, containing within its borders everything that the heart of man or woman can desire. Besides the buildings set apart entirely for exhibits—there are clubs for both ladies and gentlemen, refreshment rooms, a theatre, a bioscope entertainment, skating rink, polo-ground and the latest things in sensational sideshows.

V.—A GENERAL VIEW.

Entrance to the Exhibition grounds is had through wide arches which pierce an elegant and imposing curtain, a palace front in the best Indo-saracenic style. To the eastward of this, frown from the high ground the grim walls and bastions of the Fort, part of the green glacis of which has been palisaded off so as to serve as a grand stand for the witnessing of aviation and sports by the multitude who do not care to pay the full prices required for accommodation in the special enclosures. The favour of the gate secured, the first court is entered, a great open quadrangle, well balanced, bright, fair with domed palaces, tall archways and eye-capturing vistas. Round three sides of the wide quadrangle are arcades, with a multitude of neat booths, all occupied by Indian artizans at work upon their various handicrafts, and by smaller traders and exhibitors.

Entering the Exhibition premises which also are beautifully designed in Indo-saracenic style, by Sir Swinton Jacob, through an imposing, ornamental gateway, one finds inside lovely buildings finished all in white plaster and bristling with domes and minarets; with fountains and bandstands scattered about *pucca* roads running in straight lines from top to bottom and end to end of the grounds. Passing through an ornamental arch, splendidly carved and decorated in white and cream with borders of red, the visitor enters a huge court-yard in the centre of which is the bandstand. This court-yard which is in the form of a square entered through four arches, one in the centre of each side, and surrounded by white and gold oriental palaces, the roofs of which simply bristle with minarets, is a dream of beauty. It is brilliantly lighted at night by huge arc lamps, while the bandstand is lit with fairy lamps in every colour.

On entering the grounds, the visitor is amazed by the number and graceful beauty of the Exhibition buildings generally and of some of the more important courts particularly. All the buildings are in the true Indian style of architecture, combining the best features of Hindu and Mussalman art, and a number of them have been built to plans furnished by Sir Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E. Standing at the entrance, one cannot but be struck by the grace and symmetry of the Exhibition as a whole. The main avenue stretches straight away from the gateway to the top of the grounds and on either side are handsome oriental palaces in which the exhibits are housed. The centre of the quadrangle at the entrance is laid out as an ornamental fountain, which is illuminated at night by many-coloured electric lights. Close by is a bandstand and further along the avenue is a handsome ornamental clock-tower, which at night, when lit up by myriads of electric lamps, is truly a sight for the gods—a thing of beauty, if *not* a joy *for ever*. After passing through two imposing arches, the visitor finds himself in another quadrangle, where there is another fairy fountain and another bandstand, and at the head of the avenue, over-looking the whole Exhibition, is the Welcome Club, one of the prettiest

buildings in the grounds, and a fitting termination to what is undoubtedly a beautiful promenade.

In its central section the main avenue expands into a great Court of Honour, one of the most spacious and finely proportioned. Approach is had to this from the four points of the compass through four lofty and impressive arched ways. The court is proud with tall, graceful trees, which give needed relief to the white lines of the moorish palaces, harmonising men and nature. In the centre is the large band-stand, where daily through the months there will be music. Fairy fountains, gleaming with painted light after dusk, add to the attractiveness of the court. The tall, graceful clock-tower, its lines and details picked out in electric fire at night, dominates the court, the whole avenue being visible from nearly every part of the Exhibition. Down the centre of the first quadrangle extends the main avenue, a broad road of red murrum, bordered with lawns and flower beds. It is graced at its point of departure by an ornamental lake and fairy fountains. In the Court of Honour beyond, and in the southern quadrangle are other similar pieces of ornamental water and fountains. These are at night illuminated with coloured light.

Right and left of the main avenue, sweep other broad roads, leading to the eastern and western enclosures, the sports grounds, and the section devoted to engineering industries, the water chute and the scenic Railway. The total length of these roads is very considerable, and it was a happy thought of the Committee of management that led to the importation of some 100 light, graceful Japanese rickshaws, in which those who are weary of foot or short of time can be moved swiftly and pleasantly form one point to another, for a very modest fare.

The main avenue is bordered by Sir Swinton Jacob's graceful Indo-saracenic palaces in which are housed, all under excellent guard, the exhibits in the sections of "Fine and Applied Arts," "Wood, Stone and Metal," "General Industries," "Japanese Art and Industry," "Indian Feudatory States," "Educational Court," and "Ladies' Court." These buildings are in pairs, those on the right hand duplicating those upon the left.

To the east, near the Fort, are situate the amusement courts, the splendid polo ground, the aerodrome and hangars, the *akhara*, or stadium, where the wrestling will take place, and the fields for the oriental pageant and military displays. Above the river, in this neighbourhood, will also be given the pyrotechinc displays by Messrs Brock, which are certain to be a great attraction. Space is also reserved in this locality for various Indian industries not already housed in other courts.

The main avenue is crossed in two places by broad roads stretching from one end of the grounds to the other, and there is another cross road along the river bank at the southern extremity of the grounds. These roads, bordered as they are on either side by glorious trees, are naturally the most popular walks in the Exhibition. They lead from the amusement courts on the east to the engineering and textile courts on the west, while beyond the latter, and reached by an ornamental footbridge, is an extensive plot of ground given up to the agricultural, irrigation and forestry sections. A broad and well-shaded avenue runs along the river bank and affords a perfect walk

at all hours of the day or night. It is well used, for the Exhibition opens at six in the morning and closes at one in the morning. From this road, and the terrace and windows of the Welcome Club and its Annexe, it is possible to secure the best views of the flights of the airmen, and of the regattas. Boats and launches for hire swarm upon the broad clear waters, and those so inclined can leave the Exhibition by the water road, and make tours up or down the broad sacred rivers which the late rains of this year have kept very full.

VI.—The Welcome Club.

As has already been said, the Welcome Club situated upon a broad terrace overlooking the Jumna, is a handsome building at the south end of the central avenue—near the second illuminated fountain and not far from the band-stand—in pure white and occupying a commanding position. It is well contrived for extending good fellowship and mutual understanding between the men of various races who will throng to the Exhibition. From the terrace there is a beautiful view of the river bend, and of the bastions of the Fort. To the eastward, proceeding towards the great railway bridge, is the Annexe to the Welcome Club, in the building overhanging the river, once the historic steamer *ghat* which so long served as a gateway to the Upper from the Lower provinces. Here dinners can be given, and lady guests entertained, the catering being in the capable hands of Messrs. Kellner, who have undertaken the huge contract for the whole of the Exhibition and the visitors' camps.

The rules of the Club are few and simple; the subscription is very low; and the advantages to be obtained from membership are so great that probably few European or Indian gentlemen who visit the Exhibition, if only for a day, will fail to become members. There is no entrance fee, and the subscription ranges from fifteen rupees for the whole three months to one rupee for one day. From the roof of the club a glorious view of the Exhibition is obtained, and at the rear is a broad verandah overlooking the Jumna and the Ganges—which is an ideal resort for afternoon tea—while the bank of the Jumna, sloping down to the river, is laid out with plants and grass plots, with seats placed here and there, and forms a terrace unrivalled for scenic beauty. The Club itself is rather on the small side, but it, no doubt, is large enough to meet the needs of the temporary and permanent members. The central hall is decorated with purely Indian frescoes in so many and such brilliant colours that if they were not so perfectly blended they would give a bizarre effect. They were done by one of the very few men left in India to-day, who thoroughly understands this particular class of work, and it is as much to be admired as anything in the Exhibition. No meals are served in the Club, but in its pretty Annexe, not far from it along the bank of the Jumna, the members of the Club can entertain their friends. The Annexe is built—as stated above—on an historic landing stage, at which people who came to Allahabad by boat in the old days used to land, and it has owing to its situation and the beautiful river-view it affords, become a favourite *rendezvous* with both lady and gentlemen visitors. There is in the Annexe a large central dining room, with private rooms for lunch and dinner. The roof, which is covered in, makes an ideal tea-room. Altogether, the Welcome Club and the Annexe, are one of the most distinctive features of the Exhibition.

A little beyond the Annexe is a prettily-designed kiosk, to serve as a band-stand, next a landing-stage for boats and beyond this a water-chute—one of the most entertaining amusements in the Exhibition.

VII.—The Various Courts.

We now propose to go into some details as to the various courts and what the visitor sees in them. To do this it would, perhaps, be better to start at the entrance and work steadily upwards. The first thing the visitor sees when he steps through the outer gateway is a quadrangle surrounded on three sides by arcades in which Indian artisans are seen working at their various trades. There are about 120 shops in these arcades, and here men are engaged day by day in every ancient and modern craft known to India, the home of the hand-worker. The two shops at the end of the arcade, set apart for Indian artisans, are three or four times larger than the rest, and are very much more ornamental, one of them being particularly so. Designed by Mr. Thornton, of Messrs. Martin and Co., Calcutta, for the Society of Oriental Art, it is beautifully carved outside and ornamented within. Here a number of the pictures recently sent by the Society for exhibition in London are shown. The companion building at the other extremity of the arcade is the photographic saloon which is of interest to all lovers of the camera. The photographs sent in for the various competitions are on view here.

Coming to the courts proper, which are built in pairs of the same design, one on each side of the main avenue, the first seen are those devoted to jewellery and Fine and Applied Arts. The former is the repository of jewels worth a tremendous amount of money. There are in it examples of gold and silver work from Upper India, rubies from Burma and the rarest and most valuable jewellery and precious stones from all over the country. One exhibitor alone has sent exhibits worth twelve lakhs of rupees. Here, too, are many curios from all over India and even from far-away Tibet. Special precautions are taken to guard this treasure-house. The windows are strongly barred ; an armed guard patrols the building day and night ; and a grille is erected at the door so as to permit of only one person entering at a time.

Wood, Stone and Metal comes next in order, and to this section two courts have been given. These buildings form three parts of a square, and the intervening spaces are laid out with flower beds. In one court furniture and other "utility articles" are housed, while in the other are ornamental and fancy goods, such as wood, marble and metal carvings, gold and silver wire-work, watches, clocks, etc. The exhibits in this section are arranged as they would be in houses and thus fully furnished dining and drawing rooms, billiard rooms and so on, are seen here. Messrs. Lazarus and Co., of Calcutta, have a big show here.

The courts beyond these are the General Industries, in which examples of every industry in the country are exhibited; the Native States and Japanese courts ; and one set apart for the Talukdars of Oudh. Visitors will, perhaps, be as much interested in the Native States exhibits as in anything in the Exhibition. In this court they have the opportunity of seeing treasures which have never before been away from the Native States, and which few visitors to those States have ever seen. Priceless things have been sent from many of the important States. The Oudh Hall, as the court in which the exhibits of Oudh are placed is called, is divided into two, one-half of which contains many valuable things from

the palaces of Oudh—jewellery, shawls and other heirlooms, many of which dating back to the times when a king ruled in Oudh—while in the other half are curious exhibits from Japan. Here many of the things which were shown at the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London are exhibited, as many others sent direct from Japan.

North of this square is another courtyard with the Ladies' court on one side, and the Educational court on the other, a fairy fountain in the centre and the Welcome Club at the top of a slight incline. In the former is seen lace, embroidery and fancy needlework, basket and bead work, and all kinds of articles made by the women of India and Burma A feature of this court is a Purdah Club, where purdahnashin ladies are able to repair. The rooms forming this club lead up to the roof, which is properly screened of, and from which purdah ladies are able to see all that is happening in the adjoining amusements court, and also get a fine view of the Exhibition without themselves being seen. In the Education court exhibits from all the provinces of India and also from England and Japan are shown. These include examples of drawing, painting, carving and metal work, technical exhibits, together with educational furniture, apparatus and books.

VIII.—Science and Engineering.

Leaving the main avenue on the left, the visitor comes to another road running parallel with it, in which are to be found courts devoted to more serious and useful, if less pretty, exhibits than those alongside the main walk. The first of these is that devoted to medical, hygienic, municipal, and sanitary exhibits, and all who are interested in the health of the people, will find in it much to interest and instruct them. The exhibits include a miniature operating room fully equipped and a comprehensive collection of indigenous drugs; while demonstrations of Rontgen Rays and their use in surgery are given—to mention only a few of the exhibits in this most useful court, which, it should be added, is run by Government medical officers. Close by these is a model Indian village—model, that is, from a sanitary point of view—and near to this is a court in which the various Engineering colleges show a number of exhibits.

The courts thus far dealt with have been those in which inanimate objects are housed, and now we come to those in which everything is in working order. The person who likes to see how things are done, will be in his element in this part of the Exhibition, which is crammed—full of running machines, many of which show processes of manufacture from start to finish. In the Engineering court are found all kinds of steam and electrically driven machinery, models of engineering works, tools and buildings materials, different systems of lighting, motor cars, vans and boats, and carriages and bicycles. Outside are numerous small tents and sheds erected by private firms.

Another huge court is that devoted to textiles. Here the visitor sees textile machinery running and representatives of the firms exhibiting are present to tell him exactly what it does and how it does it. A practical demonstration of some of the processes connected with the maunfactures of textile products is given, and there are displayed a wide range of specimens of woollen, silk and cotton fabrics, tents and carpets. Many of the firms in this section also are having private tents. Adjacent to the textile court are several weaving sheds where the hand-

loom weavers are seen at work, while the goods they make are on view in the court itself. As there is to be a special show of hand-looms fitted with all the newest devices, it is hoped that the weaver who has not moved with the times, but has been content to go on working with the clumsy machine which his father and probably his grandfather used before him, will be brought to see the advantage of improved appliances and methods. In this section there is also a weaving school, where the boys and girls from the Bara Banki Weaving School show what they can do—and weaving competitions are to be held in which prizes will be given for workers on the ordinary indigenous village loom and for work done on improved handlooms, whether of Indian or foreign design.

Close beside the clock-tower that marks the relentless footsteps of the unhalting hours, is one of the most interesting features of even this interesting and richly varied Exhibtion. On the east side gay with emerald and scarlet and black, gleaming steel and burnished brass, stands the first engine that drew a train of the East Indian Railway into Allahabad. It is a small open-cabbed, open-fronted, spidery little, machine, with powerful driving wheels however, and great boiler capacity. Attached is a third class coach also of the earliest type. Over against it, on the west, stands a gigantic engine of the latest and most powerful type, an engine five times as great as the dainty green Fairy Queen, number one of the company. It is liveried in deep claret, and sober black, picked out in scarlet and gold, and the relief in tone is secured by the steady gleam of workmanly burnished steel and brass. Attached is a third class carriage of the latest pattern. The contrast and the lesson in half a century's progress are well driven home

IX —AGRICULTURE.

The agricultural section occupies a plot of ground to itself and may correctly be described as an exhibition within the Exhibition. The ground on which it is situated is cut off from the rest of the Exhibition by the railway line and is approached by a footbridge which spans the line near the engineering section. The first thing the visitor sees here is a lake where all kinds of water-lifts and irrigation pumps—from the old-fashioned hand-and-bullock-worked implements, to the latest and most up-to-date electrically-propelled machinery—are at work. In conjunction with the lake, and close by, are a small set of fields on which the actual area of land irrigated by hand-bullock and engine power in a given time can be demonstrated. Here too is the Irrigation Department building in which are seen a number of interesting exhibits ; while across the lake is situated a working dairy where the whole processes of butter and cheese making is shown. The visitor will be able to contrast the old with the new, for close by where the Indian agriculturist is engaged in dairy work with ancient contrivances is found a steam dairy for commercial work, a camp dairy and a modern village dairy.

In addition to the irrigation and dairies, everything connected with agriculture is shown in this section. Many firms have erected private tents here to show agricultural machinery, and this includes all the most modern and most efficient contrivances, not only for farming and kindred pursuits, but also for dealing with agricultural products. Again there are courts for the exhibition of products and working processes ; of pot culture and fruits ; of the whole process

of silk making ; of working sugar factories and of crops, fodder and cattle food. Further, there is a poultry farm where poultry, ducks and turkeys are seen living under suitable conditions—as also incubators and artificial foster-mothers for newly hatched chicks—, a building for the exhibits of the Civil Veterinary Department, and a large demonstration ground, about ten acres in area, where all kinds of ploughs, harrows, reaping, harvesting and threshing machines are shown at work.

Special efforts have been made to get agriculturists to visit the Exhibition in parties from the more outlying and backward parts of the province, to show them over the courts, to convince them of the utility and profit-making possibilities of improved machinery and methods and, at the same time, to put them in touch with not only makers of machinery, but also with the merchants to whom they sell their produce. If this results in a sort of awakening on the part of Upper Indian agriculturists, then the Exhibition will not have been held in vain. The same remarks apply to every other industry and handicraft in the province, the poorer workers in which have been brought to Allahabad to be shown the advantages of new over old methods.

Perhaps the most valuable place in the whole of the Agricultural section is the Enquiry Office. Here an experienced official is always in attendance to give information to enquiring visitors and to put them into touch with the demonstrating staff. Mr. Burt, who has charge of this section, has also arranged for parties from the purely agricultural districts, to visit the Exhibition, to be personally conducted all round the section, and have everything explained to them.

X.—Forestry and Sport.

The final section is that devoted to forestry, where are found specimens of something like 200 kinds of timber from the forests of the United Provinces, together with forest products and the industries connected with them, the whole illustrated by working exhibits. One section of this court, which appeals particularly to the *shikari*, includes trophies of the chase from all parts of India, as well as an assortment of arms, past and present. The final court, in what cannot fail to be a section of the greatest interest to everyone, is devoted to machinery dealing with the principal forest industries, all shown at work. In this section logs of timbers have been prepared with one side planed smooth to show the appearance of the wood. These are shown both polished and unpolished and hand specimens are also available, so that visitors can examine the woods if they so wish. A very large collection of the products of forest trees has been made and the uses to which each can be put illustrated. For instance, over a hundred different kinds of food which are eaten in times of famine have been collected. A feature of this part of the court are botanical specimens of each tree showing leaves, flowers, and fruits, each in a frame made of the wood of the tree in question. Models of several kinds of transport operations are shown, including sledge slides, water slides, booms, aerial rope-ways and forest tramways, etc. In addition to these models of forest, engineering works, such as wooden bridges and buildings of several kinds, have been made. A turpentine distillery is at work in a shed near the main court, and close by in another building the process of wood-pulp manufacture is shown. A great variety of wood-working machines are displayed in the opposite side of the

court, and these are shown at work, Hand industries are also represented and carvers, basket makers, katha manufacturers, rope makers, and others all are seen plying their various trades.

A special feature of the court is its display of photographs. Over five hundred photographs, mostly of large size, are on view. These all deal with forest subjects and give an idea of the work done by the Forest Department—how the timber is grown and how it is exracted. Moreover some beautiful water-colour paintings of the flowers of many of the principal trees are shown. A large number of these are set in the panelling of the walls, in different kinds of timber to show off their different appearances.

The *shikar* court exhibits are vary interesting. Mr. Faunthorpe has sent a really fine collection of tiger and other skins and a great variety of horns, and Mr. Cleveland has sent some buffalo horns and a tiger, set up in the act of charging, in addition to some tiger, panther, and other skins. Mr. Broun is exhibiting his *gond* which is, it is believed, a record for the United Provinces, as well as other trophies; while Kunwar Pratap Bikram Shah has sent his magnificent elephant tusk, which is claimed to be the record for Indian elephants. Other collections include that of Kumar Bharat Singh, who has sent a variety of black-buck, *chital*, *para* and other heads, as well as a sloth bear cub and a panther fully set up, besides several skins. Three fully set up tigers by Rowland Ward have also been sent by H. H. the Maharaja of Rewah and a large variety of heads and horns have been received from other exhibitors, including a magnificent *chital* shot in the Dehra Dun by Col. Fraser and sent by the Imperial Forest College, and a beautiful *para* of very large dimensions speared by the late Mr. Berthoud. Messrs. Van Ingen and Van Ingen have sent some very fine skins and several other well known taxidermists both in England and in India are exhibiting specimens of their work. A large number of sportsmen have sent some of their best trophies, so that visitors may rest assured that there is no lack of interest in that most fascinating subject—Natural History.

In fact the collection of *shikar* trophies is one of the most interesting features of the whole Exhibition. In the jungle scene a large number of animals are shewn in their natural surroundings. These include rhinoceros, tiger, panther, deer and numerous other smaller inhabitants of the jungles. In addition to this no less than four fully set up tigers are being exhibited.

Colonel Nawabzada Obaidulla Khan of Bhopal has also very kindly sent his famous *sambhar* head, which holds the world's record for size. This is truly a magnificent head as the shape is almost perfect and its length and thickness of beam are little short of the marvellous. It is safe to say that a view of this head alone would amply repay a visit to this part of the Exhibition. Mr. W. B. Cotton, I. C. S., has sent almost the whole of his own private collection, which includes elephant tusks, bison, buffalo, *sambhar*, *barasingha* ibex, *shafoo*, *gond*, *chital*, blackbuck, *chinkara*, besides small trophies such as boar's tusks neatly mounted. The gem of the collection however is a *markhor* head beautifully mounted by Rowland Ward.

Sir John Hewett has kindly lent a magnificient *gond* head and the Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad has sent two fine specimens of *gharial* and *muggar* fully set up. Other items of interest include a collection of the birds of the

province and old arms and sporting weapons of all k.nds and fishing. Among the exhibits are several monster crocodiles and alligators, and a small museum of jewellery, hair, bones and toys recovered from their internal economy. The Director has spared no pains to make this court a great success and there can be no doubt that visitors to the Forest section will be delighted with the results No lover of Natural History should fail to visit it on any account.

XI.—LAST IMPRESSIONS.

The impression one carries away after such a tour is not so much the actual size of this White City of handsome buildings as the comprehensiveness of the scheme as a whole. Within the grounds are found many things to instruct, to interest and to amuse every class of visitor, be he a humble ryot from a lonely hut on the country-side, an Indian artisan or clerk from the village, town or city, an Anglo-Indian, or a cold-weather visitor from Europe or America. From the highest to the lowest everyone is catered for. The European or American visitor is able to see Indian artisans at work at their various trades, using, many of them, the same tools that their fathers and forefathers used ; while close by, in beautiful buildings, the Indian will see similar work being done by machinery such as he has probably never heard or even dreamt of. This bring:ng together the working and results of the new and old methods is, indeed, one of the main purposes of the Exhibition. And the reader who has carefuly persued this sketch will, no doubt, realize that to miss an Exhibition like this is like missing one's last chance in life.

XII.—Shuttle Service running daily between Allahabad Main station and Exhibition Central Gate with effect on and from the 1st December 1910.

Up.

Between.		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N
		H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.
Allahabad and	dep.	7 30	8 30	9 50	11 10	12 30	13 50	15 10	16 30	17 50	19 10	20 30	21 50	23 10
Exhibition Central Gate.	arr.	7 45	8 45	10 05	11 25	12 45	14 05	15 25	16 45	18 05	19 25	20 45	22 05	23 25

Down.

Between.		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N
		H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.
Exhibition Central Gate. and	dep.	8 0	9 10	10 30	11 50	13 10	14 30	15 50	17 10	18 30	19 50	21 20	22 30	23 35
Allahabad	arr.	8 15	9 25	10 45	12 05	13 25	14 45	16 05	17 25	18 45	20 05	21 35	22 45	23 50

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

(a) LORD HARDINGE: INDIA'S NEW VICEROY.

As for internal conditions in India, I can, as I have already said, only lay claim to a superficial knowledge of them; but there are certain obvious principles which it must be the duty of every responsible administrator to follow. Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, in his very able speech on the Indian Budget, wound up by quoting an extract of a letter from the great Sir Robert Peel to my grandfather, on his appointment to the post of Governor-General of India and in his concluding remarks proffered advice to me in the same sense. You will, I am sure, pardon me if I repeat this short and interesting quotation :—"If," wrote Sir Robert, "you can keep peace, reduce expenses, extend commerce and strengthen our hold on India by confidence in our justice and kindness and wisdom, you will be reeeived here on your return with acclamations a thousand times louder and a welcome infinitely more cordial than if you had a dozen victories to boast of." These were wise words and as true and applicable now as they were when written more than sixty years ago. I have laid them to heart, but, had Sir Robert lived now, during this period of transition in India when some of the old landmarks are being removed to give a wider scope to the intelligence and intellectual ability of our Indian fellow-subjects, he would, I think, have given some additional advice possibly on the following lines—that the new Viceroy should watch over with the utmost care and vigilance and do his utmost to consolidate the beneficent and far-reaching scheme of reforms introduced by Lord Morley and Lord Minto for associating the people of India more closely with the management of their own affairs. He might also have added that the Viceroy should strain every nerve to conciliate *all* races, classes, and creeds. My lords and gentlemen, it will be my humble duty honestly to endeavour to follow the precepts so clearly laid down by Sir Robert and those that I have had the temerity to suggest as likely additions had that eminent statesmen lived in our day, and in pursuing this course I shall be fortified by the profound sympathy and regard that I entertain and have always entertained for our Indian fellow-subjects and by my earnest desire to contribute at least something to their material welfare and development. *Extract from the speech of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, made in London October* 20, 1910.

ON behalf of that large section of thoughtful and cultured Indians, whom the *Hindustan Review* may claim to represent, we offer a respectful and cordial welcome to Lord Hardinge, who has succeeded Lord Minto, as the Governor-General of India. The new Viceroy is an admirable type of the permanent official who administers the British Empire, and is, perhaps, the most distinguished of this class of unelected rulers who, through all the changes and chances of politics, preserve the character and continuity of British public policy. His duties as Permanent Under-Secretary

at the Foreign Office—till his appointment as our Viceroy—could be compared with those of the navigating officer in a battleship to whom are entrusted the sailing orders, the charts, and the steering gear and who must know the position of every shoal and every sunken reef in the oceans, the force and the direction of the currents and all the vagaries of the weather. It is not difficult to realize the high intellectuality, remarkable versatility and consummate skill with which Lord Hardinge must be endowed, to have made the very successful Permanent Under-Secretary which he is acknowledged, on all hands, to have been.

The new Viceroy is not one of those who take credit for the virtues of their ancestors; yet he belongs to a family that has done much for the State and whose name has been made famous by the veteran soldier, Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge, who ruled India for four years from 1844 to 1848. Lord Hardinge thus comes to India no stranger either in name or in reputation. He has built up for himself a high reputation in diplomacy and administration, in the course of thirty years of strenuous work. Born in 1858, he began his public career in 1880, as an *attache*. Soon after he had the fortune to attract the notice of Lord Dufferin, who made him his Private Secretary while Ambassador in Constantinople. From that day his advancement has been steady. Every step forward has been marked by the display of character and achievements that fully justified his appointment to the Viceroyalty of India—the highest office in the gift of the Crown. The record of his diplomatic appointments is a miniature gazetteer of the world, and he may claim to be as familiar with the East as with the West, for he has served in Persia and in Turkey at a time when oriental methods were more popular in those countries than parliamentary institutions.

Great gifts and great opportunities count for little without the talent for employing them. Lord Hardinge is said to possess the three qualifications. His experience is as wide as his temper is known to be serene. He has imagination enough to conceive great projects and combinations and solid judgment and unfailing penetration to give them more than visionary splendour. His courage is not mere contempt for censure, and he has never been accused of that precipitancy which the vulgar mistake for the precision of genius. What he sees he sees clearly and without the bias of prejudice, and what he holds he holds with tenacity. He is cool and resourceful in success as in difficulties, and has a talent

for temporising which enthusiasm or indiscretion may count as a weakness. To these qualities he adds the attraction of a distinguished appearance and of charming manners, and the art of concealing his advantages, while discovering enough of them to command respect for his judgment and sympathy with his purpose.

These qualities won for Lord Hardinge the confidence of the late King-Emperor Edward who attached him to his suite, in his visit to the Continent in 1903. His late Majesty's anxiety to ensure the peace of the world by cultivating friendly relations among the Powers was fully shared by his Minister Plenipotentiary. In the following year Lord Hardinge was despatched as Ambassador to St. Petersburg when he had an opportunity of giving effect to the desires of his Sovereign. His task was difficult and delicate, for during the war with Japan any overtures would have been open to suspicion of weakness or of treachery. But Lord Hardinge not only survived the terrible ordeal of the Dogger-Bank, when the sunken fishing smacks seemed destined to become in reality ships of war, but succeeded in laying the foundations of an enduring friendship between Britain and Russia, the effects of which are visible to-day in the Far East and in the Middle East.

The retirement of Lord Sanderson brought Lord Hardinge again to the Foreign Office, where his great experience and wise caution found many opportunities for display. His judgment and discretion commended him to Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Minister, who shared with his Permanent Secretary Walpole's distrust of elaborate schemes of foreign policy and his hatred of complicated engagements. King-Emperor Edward looked to him at all times for advice and assistance and made him a companion in all his official visits to the Continental Sovereigns. These missions excited in some over-sensitive minds a suspicion that Lord Hardinge was usurping the functions of a responsible Minister of the Crown, but in sensible and well-informed circles no heed was given to such a protest. It was recognised that Lord Hardinge's experience of public affairs and his skill in the management of men could not fail to be of service to his late Majesty in his interviews with the German Emperor, the Emperor of Austria, the Czar of Russia, and the President of the French Republic. This confidence was more than justified, and the work of Lord Hardinge at the Foreign Office inspires the hope that he will not be less successful in the great task that awaits him in India.

The speeches that Lord Hardinge has delivered both in England and India, since his nomination to the Viceroyalty, have all been characterized by remarkable sympathy for legitimate Indian aspirations and they have rightly raised hopes in the mind of the educated classes that the present regime will be no less successful than that of Lord Minto. The new Viceroy has more than once expressed his resolve to maintain and expand the policy of political reform inaugurated by his predecessor; while—if one may draw a conclusion from an isolated statement, as for instance, that made in his reply to the Bombay Presidency Muslim League —it seems that some, at least, of those patent disabilities that were imposed on the non-Muslim subjects of His Majesty, under the Reform regulations, promulgated last year, may eventually disappear during Lord Hardinge's fair and impartial administration.

Lord Hardinge has assumed the administration of the country at a time when there is every prospect of peace, plenty and prosperity. We sincerely hope that his rule will be memorable in the annals of modern India for the maintenance of the policy of the conciliation of all "races, classes and creeds" of His Majesty's subjects; and that we shall hear during his regime more of equal rights and privileges of the "King's equal subjects"—to use the happy expression of Lord Morley's— and less of special privileges to particular classes and communities, which, however necessary to some extent on grounds of political expediency, are bound to entail—as Lord Hardinge himself rightly declared at Bombay—corresponding disabilities to other classes and communities. We, once again, extend a hearty welcome to Lord and Lady Hardinge and wish their stay amongst us to be fraught with lasting good to our country.

(b) SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN: THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

OF the many self-sacrificing Britishers who have worked or are working for the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Indian, people, Sir William Wedderburn, the president-elect of the forthcoming session of the National Congress at Allahabad, is probably the most distinguished. It has been truly said that the dream of his childhood, the resolve of his youth and the labours of his manhood and even old age, have been to devote himself to the service of India. Sir William's father and eldest brother were Indian civilians, and this accounts for the all-absorbing interest

Sir William has ever taken in the fortunes of our people. To some, Indian problems may be a matter for leisure hours or after-dinner discussions, to others they may be deserving of a few hours' debate in the House of Commons, a few lectures on public platforms, or a few paragraphs in the leading journals ; to others, still, India may be a country they love " next to their own." But, it is the barest truth to say that to Sir William, India has been the *summum bonum* of his existence. Verily, very few Indians even, can boast of being or having been a more faithful son of the motherland than this Scotchman, who has literally grown grey in the service of our country. This is his fiftieth year of active service to our country and during this long period he has been instrumental in doing immense good to the land he loves, with the true love of a son of the soil. Such is the subject of our sketch, and it is only proper that we should place before the readers of the *Hindustan Review*, at this opportune moment, when he is coming out in his seventy-third year to preside, for the second time, over the deliberations of the great assembly of respresentative Indians, an outline of his career and an appreciation of his life-work.

Sir William, the third son of Sir John Wedderburn, was born in Edinburgh on the twenty-fifth March, 1838. At an early age he was sent to the Loretto school affiliated to the Edinburgh University, and there he distinguished himself by hard application to work and independence of spirit. He was ever obedient to his teachers and affectionate to his friends. He came out to India, in 1860, having not only successfully competed at the Civil Service examination of the previons year, but having stood third in order of merit. He was allotted to the Western Presidency, where he served for twenty-seven years. Of his choice of the Indian Civil Service he writes as follows :—" For myself I can say that I always regarded this hereditary, which was also the profession of my choice, as the noblest career open to youthful aspirations." The friends of his father and brother were occupying at the time high offices and they naturally welcomed him to their ranks. Besides, the competitive system that demanded merit more than high family traditions having then been only recently started, there had naturally sprung up a sort of prejudice amongst the old Civilians—the Hailebury men—against the new batch of competition-walas, and this made them receive with open arms one of their own set, men who, to quote the words

of Sir William himself, "by successfully passing through the fiery ordeal, had upheld the credit of the old Anglo-Indian families."

Sir William rapidly rose in service, attaining the highest post open to an Indian Civilian, that of a member of the Governor's Executive Council. He became, in due course, Under-Secretary to Government, Registrar of the High Court, Judicial Commissioner in Sind, Judge of the Bombay High Court, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and finally an Executive member of the Bombay Council. In all these difficult and responsible positions, he performed his duties faithfully and conscientiously, but with an independence and a freedom from bias that elicited praise from all those who had to deal with him. He did what to him appeared to be right, though in so doing he sometimes brought himself into collision with "the dominant powers of the great Indian bureaucracy"—to use an expression of his own.

Sir William is strongly of opinion that the Indian people are happiest when they are ruled by enlightened princes of their country. So, when he was in charge of the Political and Education departments, he materially helped in the establishment of the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, for the education of the Indian chiefs and princes. The chiefs and people of Kathiawad have reasons to be very grateful to him for the establishment of the Grassia Court—a tribunal representing the ruling chiefs—which by disposing of their internal disputes, did away with the old system of internecine feuds, thus yielding place to the public peace and general prosperity that is now witnessed all over Kathiawad. But if he cared so much for the welfare of the princes and their estates, his solicitude for the toiling millions was still greater. In reply to an address of welcome presented to him by the citizens of Madras in January, 1905, he spoke as follows :—

It is quite true, I may say, that for nearly half a century my anxious thought has been for the greatness of the rural population. The great problem is this, the terrible indebtedness of the agriculturist, an indebtedness so great that it paralyses his energies, it enslaves him, it deprives him of his hereditary acres. That is the greatest misfortune that can happen to this country. This great indebtedness has led, I regret to say, to the destruction of his credit.

Therefore at different periods, Sir Willian has made efforts to deal with this terrible evil of rural indebtedness. The first was during the regime of the late Lord Ripon and the scheme was for the establishment of an Agricultural Bank to provide the ryots with advances at a moderate rate of interest. To this scheme, as Sir William said in his reply to the Madras address,

"the ryots had agreed, the money-lenders had agreed, the bankers had agreed and the landholders had agreed. But unfortunately it did not meet with the approval of the then Secretary of State." The second thing that he did was to get appeals submitted to the Government to organise a Commission to enquire into the causes of the constant recurrence of famines in India, though this too, has not so far met with success. His third scheme was in connection with the establishment of Arbitration Courts. When in 1876 Mr. Ganesh Wasedeo Joshi and his friends set up Arbitration Courts in eight district towns, with branches at the smaller towns, Sir William who, as a District Judge, had had painful experience of the ruin caused by litigation in our courts, tried to place the Arbitration Courts on a souud footing by incorporating them in the British judicial system. For this purpose a large and representative gathering was held in the Poona Town Hall, which appointed a Committee to prepare a draft bill that provided that "all suits should in the first instance be brought in an arbitration court, and if either party was dissatisfied, the case was to be finally disposed of by the Subordinate Judge going on circuit and sitting with the arbitrators who had orginally dealt with the case." But unfortunately this popular movement was not only discountenanced by the Government of Sir Richard Temple but the Subordinate Judges who happened to take part in it were also reprimanded.

To the cause of female education also, Sir William rendered material assistance. The Wedderburn Hindu Girls' School at Kurrachi, established in 1880, is a standing monument of the great interest he took in woman's cause. Four years later, we find him helping the great social reformer, Mr. Ranade, in founding the Poona School for girls, to which he made an endowment of Rs. 10,000 in memory of his brother Sir David.

As a Judge of the Bombay High Court, Sir William by his independence and impartiality earned the respect of his brother Judges and the confidence of the bar and the litigant public. When he found that the light punishments that were then awarded by the Sessions Judges were not sufficient to check the commission of crime in the mofassil, he began enhancing the period of the sentences. This as expected had a very wholesome effect in improving the administration of criminal justice in the mofassil courts, though a certain section of the press was not loath to characterise him and his learned colleague as "Enhancement Judges." It has been one of the distinguishing traits of his character that he

does what appears to him to be right, just and good, not heeding what people think of him or what others in similar circumstances may have done. He retired from service in 1887. That he had faithfully and loyally served both the Government and the people, is evidenced by the fact that at his retirement they both united to do him honour. The Government of Lord Reay issued a *Gazette Extraordinary* recording their appreciation of his work and worth and expressing regret at his retirement. It said :—

Sir William Wedderburn has been intimately associated with the Government as Acting Chief Secretary, and for a time as a Member of Council. And it is a great pleasure to His Excellency in Council to acknowledge the valuable assistance and advice for which he has been indebted to him both as a Secretary and as a colleague...His enthusiasm in the cause of education, and his anxiety to promote all measures which would, in his opinion, conduce to the moral and material progress of the natives of the country, have, as His Excellency in Council believes, won for Sir W. William Wedderburn the confidence and the gratitude of those in whose cause he has laboured.

The people of Bombay also presented him a handsome purse which he, with his usual generosity, placed at the disposal of the Bombay Presidency Association—established in 1885 with the object of furthering the political advancement of the people of the Western Presidency. A portion of the money was utilized for an oil painting of Sir William to adorn the hall of the Association.

While in Government service, two years before his retirement, Sir William helped in organising the first session of the Indian National Congress, held at Bombay in 1885. He may justly be credited with being one of the progenitors of the great national movement, and the educated Indians but expressed their deep sense of gratitude for the many things he had done and was still doing for them, when they bestowed upon him the greatest honour in their power to confer, *viz.*, the presidentship of the fifth session of the National Congress, held at Bombay in 1889. His presidential address was highly appreciated and very widely read both in India and in the United Kingdom. We may quote a passage to indicate Sir William's standpoint:

The man who points out the rocks and shoals towards which the ship is moving is the friend of the captain, not the enemy. And that is the light in which the Government should regard the criticisms of the Congress.

As when in service, so since his retirement, Sir William's one care has been for India. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress, whose President he has been ever since its foundation, has been doing yeoman's service on our behalf, specially through the medium of *India*—the well known weekly journal

issued from London. With a view to further advance our interests he entered Parliament in 1893. One very important thing that he did as a Member was to organise the Indian Parliamentary Committee, consisting of 120 Members, all pledged to attend to Indian affairs and see justice done to India. Of this noble band of workers, Sir Wilham was rightly made the chairman. This Committee submitted representations on various important financial and other questions to the Secretary of State; and it was with its assistsnce that in 1895 our Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, secured the appointment of a Royal Commission for enquiry into the financial condition of India and its relation to the British Empire, and which—from the fact of Lord Welby being its chairman—was known in common parlance as the Welby Commission. It is difficult to summarise in a small compass Sir William's parliamentary labours on our behalf. Suffice it to say that he did not lose a single opportunity of pleading for justice and equity to our country. He retired from Parliament in 1900, mainly actuated by a desire to devote his whole time to the services of this land. Apart, however, from such services it is noteworthy that Sir WIlliam's purse has always been open for advancing India's interests. It is said by those whose words can be relied upon that the sum spent by Sir William in furthering the cause of India is so large as to run into figures of some lakhs.

The services of Sir William to our country have been great; his only reward the gratitude of a grateful people and the pleasure that comes from the consciousness of having done good and of having laboured in the cause of promoting the well-being and happiness of a vast multitude of fellow-beings. That Sir William has been called again to preside over the deliberations of the 25th session of the non-official Parliament of our country, is but another proof of the great confidence which our people repose in him and his counsel; and that he is coming out to guide the deliberations of our national assembly at so much inconvenience and sacrifice, is but evidence of the great solicitude he ever evinces for our well-being. And there could be no better way of expressing our deep sense of obligation to him and our keen appreciation of all he has done and is doing for us than by extending to him a most cordial welcome and solemnly resolving to follow the sound advice this Rishi has given us and will again give us in his inaugural address as the President of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress in our historic and holy city of Prayag. Long live Sir William Wedderburn!

(c) THE HON'BLE MR. SYED ALI IMAM: THE NEW LAW MEMBER.

"I am first and foremost an Indian."

"Muhammadans and Hindus ought to recognise that they should be Indians first, and Muhammadans and Hindus afterwards."

"Government by the people, for the people and through the people, is a very natural adjunct of government by the British."

"English education has given us, Indians, a common language, common aspirations and a common patriotism, and it is desirable for the Muhammadans and the Hindus to work together for the development of India, united among themselves and united to Britain."

"The sectarian aggressiveness which is rampant in our land, is the great danger to the country and all thoughtful Indians ought to put their foot down upon it, for the danger is not so much from without as from within. If in the coming Reforms an iron wall is raised between Hindus and Mussalmans, there would be an everlasting sacrifice of Nationality; nor if it was claimed that Muhammadans should have ascendency over the Hindus, could such a claim be accepted."—*Extracts from the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, delivered in England in 1909.*

I.

Of the men who have come into prominence in this country, during the last few years, none—it may safely be said—has attracted greater public attention than the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, who assumed charge on the 15th of November last year of the post of Standing Counsel to the Government of India, and on the 21st of November last of the most exalted and highest office yet thrown open to Indians—the Law Membership of the Supreme Executive Council. Mr. Ali Imam's appointment has been welcomed by all shades of Indian public opinion as a suitable recognition of his great forensic ability and his leading position at the Bar. As that of a public man also, no name—except parhaps the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's—has been heard more prominently of late than Mr. Ali Imam's, and it would be well within the mark to say that no Indian public man had been more often eulogized and condemned by turns than the subject of this sketch, by the different sections of his own and other communities and by their organs in the press. No apology is, therefore, necessary for placing before our readers a study of Mr. Ali Imam's brilliant and successful career and an appraisement of his public and professional activities, at a time when by reason of his present appointment they have—let us hope only for a time—come to a close, and a new chapter has opened in his career which—unless the promises of the past are to be belied—may be expected to be fraught with possibilities and potentialities of the highest good to our country.

II.

Mr. Ali Imam was born at the village of Neora—a small station on the East Indian Railway—near Patna, on the 11th of February, 1869, and is thus, for the very promiment position he holds, a young man, nearing only his forty-second year. He comes of a distinguished Syed family, who justly take pride in the purity of their blood, his ancestors having come to India even

before the Moghul empire was founded. One of his ancestors, Syed Hasan Khingsawar, lies buried in Ajmere and his tomb on the hill is still venerated as that of a saint. The descendants of the Khingsawar took to mundane affairs and entered the service of the Moghal emperors, in which several of them obtained great distinction. One Mullah Saad was tutor of the Emperor Aurangzebe. Mullah Saad's sons were employed by the Emperor in military affairs, and one of them, Nawab Sayeed Khan, rose to be a Vazir of the empire. Another son of Mullah Saad was a distinguished grandee at the Delhi Court. A descendant of these nobles, Nawab Mir Askari, was one of the commanders-in-chief of the empire in the time of Clive. A son of the commander-in-chief was of great help to Warren Hastings in establishing the supremacy the "Company Bahadur" in the provinces of Behar, Bengal and Orissa.

In recent times, also, the Syed family of Neora has produced men of conspicuous ability and great talents. Mr. Ali Imam's great-grandfather, Khan Bahadur Syed Imdad Ali, was a distinguished public servant and retired as the Subordinate Judge of Patna. Shams-ul-ullamah, Khan Bahadur, Syed Wahid-ud-din, the grandfather of the subject of the sketch, was the first Indian to occupy the post of a District Magistrate. From 1854 to 1858, he was the District Magistrate of Monghyr, and afterwards he was the District and Sessions Judge of Shahabad. He died in 1894—full of years and honour. A maternal uncle of Mr. Ali Imam's—the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Syed Sharf-ud-din—is a puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, while another, Khan Bahadur, Syed Nasir-ud-din, is, at present, the Finance Minister of Bhopal. He was the first Beharee to occupy the important position of an Under-Secretary to the Board of Revenue of the Lower Provinces. Mr. Ali Imam's father, Shams-ul-ullamah, Nawab Syed Imdad Imam, is a brilliant poet, a versatile scholar and a voluminous writer, alike upon literary, scientific and agricultural subjects. One of his philosophical treatises, called *Mirat-ul-Hukama*, has been translated from Hindustani into Swedish and the learned author received some years back a letter in appreciation of his work from the late King Oscar of Sweden. Together with these, he has such a wonderful skill as a medical man, that his presence is eagerly sought after by almost all the towns in Behar. The Nawab practises medicine not as a profession, but from the pure love of relieving distressed humanity—often supplying both medicine and food to his patients, out of his own generous purse. One would think that a man of such wonderful accomplishments and deep learning would be a recluse of exclusive habits. But Nawab Imdad Imam's appearance belies any such presumption. He is one of the best-dressed men in Behar and his love of *shikar* finds him jovial companions from all ranks of society, Indian and Anglo-Indian. In fact, he carries his sixty-two years so lightly that many persons on seeing him, for the first time, take him to be the *younger* brother, rather than the father, of Mr. Ali Imam. And well may he be proud of so worthy a son as Mr. Ali Imam who, by the sheer dint of ability, has attained the unique distinction of being the second Indian and the first Mussalman member of the highest executive of the Indian Empire.

III.

Coming of such a distinguished stock, Mr. Ali Imam had a brilliant career as a scholar. He was educated in the Arrah Zillah School and afterwards in the Patna College. To complete his education, he went to England in Septem-

ber, 1887, and was called to the English Bar by the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple in the June term of 1890, in which year he returned to India In the same term and by the same Society were called Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim of the Madras High Court (who is married to a cousin of Mr. Ali Imam's) and Mr. Justice Shah Din of the Panjab Chief Court. While in England, the political state of his country had a great hold upon Mr. Ali Imam's mind. He was of great service to the Congress delegates, who were sent to England in 1890. That delegation consisted of men like Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and other great leaders of the Congress. Mr. Ali Imam went with the delegates to several places in England and Wales and spoke eloquently on the Indian question. One of his speeches in London, in which referring to the Indian delegates on the platform, he spoke with warmth and eloquence as:—" behind these men stands the hope of a great and rising nation."—brought down the growded house and stamped his career as a true Indian nationalist. The late Mr. William Dighy, C. I. E., that disinterested and devoted friend of the Indian people, had a great admiration for Mr. Ali Imam and wrote very feelingly about him as "the nephew of that stalwart Congressman, Mr. Sharf-ud-din of Patna."

On his return to India, Mr. Ali Imam devoted himself for many years exclusively to the practice of his profession. The law is a jealous mistress, but Mr. Ali Imam's whole-hearted devotion was crowned with success in his very earliest years.. He had not to wait, watch and hope as most juniors have got to do. He joined the legal profession in Behar at the 'psychological' moment. It is unneceassry to enumerate all the celebrated cases, civil and criminal, in which Mr. Ali Imam figured conspicuously during the nineteen years of his practice in Behar. Suffice it to say, that during the last ten years or so, previous to his appointment last year as Standing Counsel to the Government of India, there had not been a single case of first-rate importance in Behar, in which the services of Mr. Ali Imam had not been retained by one side or the other. Of late years, Mr. Ali Imam had acquired such a fame as a 'case-winner' that suitors had come to regard their case half-won, when his services had been secured. Even before he was appointed Standing Counsel last year, his services had been secured by the local government to conduct, on behalf of the Court of Wards, the defence in the now well-known Dumraon Raj adoption trial. His income for years past had been so large that even a seat on the bench of the High Court did not offer him sufficient temptation to make him think of changing the counsel's gown for the robes of a judge. In the matter of professional success, it may be stated by the way, that Mr. Ali Imam's younger brother, Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, who is the President of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee and is well-known all over India as a public man of most liberal and advanced views, sincere patriotism and an earnest worker in the country's cause, has had an almost equal distinction.

IV.

Mr. Ali Imam's success as a lawyer brought him to the forefront in other walks of life, even outside the Province of Behar. In the earlier years of his practice, he was for six years a member of the Patna District Board and the Patna Municipality and, for about six months, he acted as the Vice-chairman of

the latter—the largest, outside Calcutta, in the Lower Provinces—in place of his uncle, the late Khan Bahadur, Syed Fazl Imam—a notable figure in his day, for years the leader of Patna society and a member of the Provincial Council. He had, however, to sever his connection with the Boards by reason of his ever-extending practice. He had been one of the trustees of the Aligarh College for the last seven years and is deeply interested in the progress of Muhammadan education. Both Messrs. Ali Imam and Hasan Imam have given liberal donations to the College, as also to the Behar Industrial and Educational Association.

Mr. Ali Imam has taken a keen and active interest in the Muhammadan Educational Conference and attended several sessions of it. Ever since the question of Mussalmans taking some part in the politics and public life of the country came up for discussion some years back, Mr. Ali Imam began to take a great interest in the matter. It was mainly as a result of his useful contributions to the discussions on the subject that the lines on which the All-India Muslim organization was to work, were laid down and which have now been finally embodied in the constitution of the All-India Muslim League, over the first session of which he presided at Amritsar in 1908. In the memorable Simla Deputation of October 1st, 1906, Mr. Ali Imam took a prominent part. The address—the original draft of which, it is an open secret, was prepared by Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, C. S. I., late of the India Council—as presented in its final form to the Viceroy, (and which was declared by the *Times*' writer on Indian affairs as a thoughtful and original contribution to Indian political literature) was largely the result of Mr. Ali Imam's suggestions, based on his practical experience of the Mussalman problem in India. Since the establishment of the Behar Provincial Muslim League and the Behar Provincial Association early in 1908, Mr. Ali Imam was the President of both these institutions till his appointment, last year, as Standing Counsel.

A man of liberal views and great culture, Mr. Ali Imam is too large-hearted to be a mere sectarian. His love for his own co-religionists has never closed his heart to his countrymen, who profess other creeds. On the contrary, his high position in the Muslim world of India gave him a commanding position in the councils of the nation at large. In 1908, he was unanimously elected President of the first session of the Behar Provincial Conference, and the speech he made on that occasion extorted the admiration of most of the organs of public opinion in the country, for its striking the key-note of true, national unity. Mr. Ali Imam will have none of the shibboleths of the so-called different schools of Indian politics. He believes in doing whatever can be done to advance the Indian cause generally—consistently with the maintenance, within reasonable limits, of Mussalman interests. He believes with Mr. Gokhale that the real key of the present situation in India lies in the spread of education, and he has taken advantage of every line of action that he could get hold of, to advance this cause. The movement started in Behar to perpetuate the memory of Sir Andrew Fraser, was mainly through his exertions turned into useful channel as one for building hostels for students in Behar, in place of putting up an equestrian statue on the Calcutta *maidan*. Mr. Ali Imam is, like the Government of which he now is a member, a staunch Swadeshist and shares the views of the vast bulk of his educated countrymen—which have strangely found response even

from Lord Minto and Sir Edward Baker—as to the desirability of giving some protection to Indian industries.

V.

Mr. Ali Imam has always taken an active interest and a prominent part in the public affairs of his native province, Behar, of the glorious past and historic traditions of which he—with all other educated Beharees,—is justly proud. So far back as 1897, while a junior of seven years' standing, he offered himself as a candidate for nomination by the Municipal Boards of the Patna division, to a seat in the Provincial Council. His rival was the late lamented Mr. Saligram Singh, the well-known Beharee Vakil of the Calcutta High Court Though the contest was unequal, still Mr. Ali Imam's ability, preseverance and intrepidity, secured for him almost an equal number of votes with his rival. If he had fought out the election to the end, the chances were that he would have probably been successfnl, but he was prevailed upon at the last moment to retire in favour of his uncle, Mr. Sharf-ud-din. This change of tactics at the last moment gave Mr. Saligram Singh an advantage over his rival and he was returned by the narrow majority of two votes. There are grounds for believing that Mr. Ali Imam felt convinced as the result of this election that when even liberal-minded Mussalmans like his uncle—a zealons Congress-walla—and himself had no chance in mixed electorates, it was impossible for members of his community to be adequately represented, unless they had the privilege of sending up some of their representatives from special Mussalman electorates. From this time onward he made this the chief plank of his political programme and those who know what an active share he has had in securing this privilege for his co-religionists might well find in the incident—his and his uncle's defeat—an apt illustration of the theory, as to how momentous and most revolutionary changes in the world's history, have often been brought about as the result of apparently most trival causes.

In 1908 Mr. Ali Imam, along with a few of his Beharee friends, was instrumental in getting up the Behar manifesto on the present situation. For this, he and his coadjutors came in for a fair measure of blame at the hands of some of their young friends, but there can be no doubt that the manifesto gave expression to the genuine feelings of by far the largest number of thoughtful people in the province of Behar. The Behar Deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor, which waited upon Sir Andrew Fraser at the Government House at Patna, in August 1908, shortly after the presentation of the manifesto, was a unique and unqualified success. In organising the Deputation, Mr. Ali Imam as the President of the Behar Provincial Association and of the Behar Provincial Muslim League—two of the leading public bodies which along with the Behar Landholders' Association arranged for the Deputation—had naturally to bear the brunt of the whole work. He was appointed the General Secretary of the Deputation Committee, which was composed of the leading representatives of the three public bodies referred to above. In the educational affairs of his province, Mr. Ali Imam has always taken a keen interest, and his public services in matters educational, received in 1908, some recognition by his appointment as a Fellow of the Calcutta University—of which, in due course, he may look forward to be the Vice-chancellor.

VI.

But, undoubtedly, the most notable incident in Mr. Ali Imam's career was his nomination in 1908 to the presidentship of the Amritsar session of the All-India Muslim League. The now famous inaugural address which he delivered, on that occasion, instantly brought him into the front rank of Indian public men. The speech was acclaimed by the Anglo-Indian press as marked by the highest statesmanship. The Indian press deservedly characterised it as a highly meritorious performance, though the appreciation was naturally swayed by the political predelictions of the critic. Friends and opponents were, however, alike agreed that the address bore the impress of thought and culture. It attracted considerable attention even in England and Lord Morley, in replying to the deputation of the London branch of the Muslim League, bracketted it with Dr. Rash Behary Ghose's presidential address at the Madras session of the National Congress and appreciatively referred to both.

It remained, however, for a *Quarterly* reviewer to appraise the true import and significance of Mr. Ali Imam's address. In an article headed "The Indian Reforms," in its issue of April, 1909, the *Quarterly* reviewer not only paid Mr. Ali Imam the compliment of noticing and quoting from his address, but drew pointed attention to and favourably commented upon the most important passage in the whole speech. This is what the writer in the *Quarterly Reveiw* said :—" Mr. Ali Imam had the courage to show the way to his community and to urge it to abandon a narrow and sectarian view of their responsibilities to India. Hitherto, the Indian Mussalmans have been too prone to speak of themselves as aliens sojourning in a foreign country. That view so prejudicial to Indian unity, Mr. Ali Imam put resolutely aside. 'We, the educated Musalmans of India' (he said) 'have no less love for the land of our birth than the members of other communities inhabiting the country. India is not only the land of our birth ; we are tied to her by the sacred associations of ages. We yield to none in veneration and affection for our motherland.' Perhaps few British readers will perceive what *an epoch is marked by that last sentence.* The Indian Musalman not only accepts but claims an Indian nationality ; *this is a step towards unity the significance and importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate.*"

Making allowance for the fact that Mr. Ali Imam spoke at Amritsar more as an advocate than as a judge and that in many places he adapted his statements to the conclusious he desired to arrive at, it must be said that his inaugural address will remain a landmark in Indian political literatue. Be this as it may, it was certainly the making of Mr. Ali Imam's political fortune. His star was now in the ascendant. Shortly after, he took a very prominent part in the agitation against the deletion by the House of Lords of the famous clause 3 of last year's India Bill, authorizing the constitution of executive councils in provincial governments. He earnestly co-operated with the Hindu leaders of Calcutta in organizing a meeting, which was presided over by Nawab Bahadur Sir Khwaja Salim-ullah, and at which he delivered a speech which was *par excellence* the speech of the evening. The writer of those brilliant paragraphs in the *Bengalee* headed 'Obiter Dicta' has given a graphic and vivid

sketch of Mr. Ali Imam's speech, in a recent issue of that paper, from which a few extracts might with advantage be made here:—

I remember an eloquent speech delivered by Mr. Ali Imam at the Calcutta Town Hall on a memorable occasion. He was quite a stranger to Calcutta at the time and when he stood up to speak, I did not know who he was. The opening sentences of his speech were a revelation to me. There was real oratorical power behind the beautifully spoken English. Then the speaker plunged *in media res* into a discussion of the claims of Indians to high posts, which would have done credit to Mr. Haldane or Mr. Smith. I have no recollection if Mr. Ali Imam's speech was reported in the Calcutta press, God forgive that press if it was not! I can recall a few passages of the earnest plea Mr. Ali Imam put in. In effect he said. "Try us; don't say, in advance, we are not likely to justify our appointment. We don't care for favours: we don't care to have a lower standard of efficiency applied to the work of Indians." The enthusiasm and earnestness of the man swept the audience off its feet. It was the speech of the evening. That speech, if it stood alone, might have made a reputation.

VII.

The next important incident was Mr. Ali Imam's participation in the second session of the Behar Provincial Conference, held at Bhagalpore in April 1909, and which was memorable for the "compact" between Mr. Ali Imam and Mr. Gokhale, the many long interviews between these two gentlemen and the ultimate result in the shape of a resolution, unanimously accepted by the Conference, supporting the Government's scheme of mixed electorates open to all classes, with some special electorates open to all important minorities. Mr. Ali Imam seconded the resolution, which was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Deep Narayan Singh, in a splendid speech. Mr. Gokhale came to form a very high opinion of Mr. Ali Imam's abilities and he is reported to have said that, next to Mr. Justice Krishnaswamy Iyer, he regarded Mr. Ali Imam as the most intelletual man amongst the younger generation of Indian public men. He and Mr. Ali Imam parted as the best of friends; but their so-called "compact" at Bhagalpore was for weeks the subject of acrimonious discussion in the press—principally in the section conducted by Mussalmans. From this time onward, Mr. Ali Imam came to be regarded by his co-religionists with more and more disfavour, until he was openly disowned, by a very large section, as the leader of the community. After the promulgation of the Reform regulations in November last year, Mr. Ali Imam had the gratification to find that the scheme embodied to a large extent the views for which he had fought tooth and nail against the blind bigotry of the extremists of the Muslim League. He was, however, disappointed to find that the Government had in spite of Mr. Ali Imam's protests—raised an "iron wall" between the Musalmans and the Hindus, by precluding the latter from contesting seats thrown open to the special Musalman electorates. In an interview with a representative of the *Statesman*, Mr. Ali Imam referred pointedly to this and some other palpable defects of the Reform Regulations. With him as their Law Member, the Government's task in revising the regulations so as to remove their glaring deficiences, would now be easier than it might otherwise have been.

The incidents connected with Mr. Ali Imam's visit to England last year, his interview with Lord Morley, his address on "Indian Nationalism" at Cambridge and on "The Work before Us," at a meeting (in the Caxton Hall, London,) of the Indian Union Society, the banquet at which he was entertained by representatives

of all classes of Indians, the luncheon he gave to leading Indians and Anglo-Indians and the speeches made by him at the two latter entertaiments, are all yet quite fresh in the public mind and need no detailed recounting. Lord Morley was evidently most favourably impressed with his remarkable ability and the fact, that in his address at Cambridge, Mr. Ali Imam was able to foreshadow the details of the Reform scheme affecting Muhammadans made the *Englishman* go into hysterics. Here is a choice bit from the Calcutta Hysteria Street organ: "Disowned by his own people, Mr. Ali Imam has a curiously mixed backing. He was entertained at dinner by a committee which included Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and where the chief speaker was Sir Henry Cotton. Lord Morley seems to have made him not only the confidante but the spokesman of Government in respect to forthcoming plans—for it is not to be supposed that he made his announcements at Cambridge without due authority." Another dainty morsel from the same paper might be quoted here as an example of the average Anglo-Indian paper's writings against Mr. Ali Imam at the time, for his stern refusal to play into the hands of "our enemies," to use the well-known expression of Lord Morley's :—"It is easy for Mr. Ali Imam to advise no sulking when he himself is basking in the sunshine. He has been offered and has accepted the appointment of Standing Counsel. Comment on the appointment in these circumstances is needless." Though rabid, it is gentlemanliness itself compared with the then wild ravings of the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, the Anglo-Mussalman daily of Lucknow, and mamy other Muhmamadan papers, extracts from some of which we printed some months back. It is a pity that even some Congress papers were thoughtless enough to imitate the rabid section of the Anglo-Indian press in attacking Mr. Ali Imam's speeches in England, as influenced by considerations of his appointment as Standing Counsel. The more is the pity as these speeches breathed the note of true Nationalism, and were marked with a liberalism and catholicity alas! too rare in the utterances of Mussalman public men.

In his address at Cambridge, for instance, Mr. Ali Imam declared that "Government by the people, for the people, and through the people, is a very natural adjunct of Government by the British." Again :—"English education has given us, Indians, a common language, common aspirations and a common patriotism, and it is desirable for the Muhammadans and the Hindus to work together for the development of India, united among themselves and united to Britain." Taking these passages together, can any rational person believe that they mean anything more or less than the ideal of the Indian National Congress—"Self-government within the British Empire"? His utterances at the Indian Union were still more outspoken. Introduced by the President, as an "Indian first and Muhammadan afterwards," and as one whom "the Hindus also claimed as a leader," Mr. Ali Imam declared :—"I am first and foremost an Indian." He then proceeded :—"The sectarian aggressiveness which is rampant in our land is the great danger to the country and all thoughtful Indians ought to put their foot down upon it, for the danger is not so much from without as from within. Muhammadans and Hindus ought to recognize that they should be Indians first and Muhammadans and Hindus afterwards." And then with especial reference to the Reforms:—"If in the coming Reforms an iron wall is raised between Hindus

and Mussalmans, there would be an everlasting sacrifice of Nationality; nor if it was claimed that Muhammadans should have ascendency over the Hindus, could such a claim be accepted." But enough of extracts. It is not surprising that the bulk of the Anglo-Indians who had acclaimed Mr. Ali Imam as the greatest political genius some months back, "a second Sir Syed" when he insisted on the right of Mussalmans to have a certain number of seats allotted to them, through special electorates, in the Councils, should have now repudiated his title to any political sanity. Here is an extract from the London letter of the *Times of India*, which will serve as an index to the changed situation:—"Mr. Ali Imam has now cast his views to the wind and he now ardently advocates what would be a virtual revocation of the pledges for securing which he laboured. As he left in his address the essential elements of the situation out of account, his lecture cannot be regarded as a contribution of any value to the immediate question." *O Tempora ! O Mores !!* As a matter of fact, the London correspondent of the *Hindu* was much more appreciative than any of the Anglo-Indian correspondents. "The Syed is a very clever man, with clear conceptions and a wide vision," said the *Hindu's* correspondent, "than any of his compatriots." "He approaches practical political problems from the standpoint of broad and general principles. One finds traces of statesmanship in the utterances of this Mussalman leader. In grasp of the idea of territorial patriotism, the Syed stands apart from the leaders of the Muslim League, and as such, he deserves to be counted as one of the real nation builders of modern India." With this estimate of Mr. Ali Imam's work and worth, most readers of this sketch, who are unprejudiced, will certainly agree.

VIII.

In private life, Mr. Ali Imam is the warmest of friends. He never lets differences of political or religious opinion interfere with his social and friendly relations. His palatial house at Bankipur was till very lately the common meeting place of all the different sections of public opinion that exist in Behar; and were one a Hindu or Muhammadan, "Nationalist" or a Moderate or an ultra-loyalist, one knew that Mr. Ali Imam's house was the *rendezvous* where the bitternesses of political life and religious strife were forgotten, and all shared equally the friendship and esteem of the generous host. Mr. Ali Imam is tall and stalwart, robust and well-built, and is a typical example of a healthy mind in a healthy body. He is endowed with a rich and powerful voice and is an accomplished public speaker. His *morale* is in unison with his physique. His habits are exremely simple and abstemious. Though his extensive practice entailed upon him, for nineteen years, the hardships incidental to constant travelling and dak-bungalow life, still he is in the best of healths, as a result of his careful and plain living. Mr. Ali Imam is blessed with a large family. He married a cousin of his, in March, 1891, shortly after his return from England. His married life was singularly happy and in an otherwise brilliant and prosperous carreer, which can truly be said to be endowed with all that Fortune can bestow, the only dark spot is the loss sustained by him in the premature death of his wife, in April, 1906. So attached was Mr. Ali Imam to his wife that he has hitherto preferred to remain a widower. Of the children that she bore him, five sons and four daughters are alive.

Mr. Ali Imam is yet a young man, in the prime of life and in the full vigour of manhood. He has assumed the responsibilities of the most exalted office yet open to Indians, to which he has been called by the command of his Sovereign, amidst the general good wishes of his educated fellow-countrymen, and on so momentous an occasion in his career, therefore, we cannot do better than wish him, and our countrymen will no doubt join us in doing so, a life of most useful activity, in the cause of his people and his country. His presence on the Council Board of the Empire, will, we are convinced, be a source of strength not only to the Government but also to the people, and we earnestly hope and sincerely trust that when, five years hence, he lays down the reins of his high office, it may be said of him by Lord Hardinge, what Lord Minto said of Mr. S. P. Sinha that "absolute fairness and broad-minded patriotism" had always characterized his advice and that judged by the highest standard his work as a councillor had proved an unqualified success. Higher praise than that no Indian member of the Viceroy's Council should desire, and all who have known Mr. Ali Imam can have no hesitation in hazarding the prophecy that the high expectations formed of his work as councillor will be more than amply realized.

TOPIC OF THE DAY:

LORD MORLEY'S ADMINISTRATION AT THE INDIA OFFICE.

Behind Lord Morley lies a life so consistent that any man might be proud of it. He has very seldom recanted an opinion or abandoned a principle. Yet the fact remains that he, the philosophic Liberal, the Little Englander, the ardent advocate of Home Rule, the persistent foe of war and coercion, the convinced champion of free discussion, is closing his fine record of public service, with a coronet on his head, as the ruler of India, of the child of Clive and Hastings, of the creature of strife and fraud; as, one might say, a benevolent despot in an absolute constitution, imposed and administered by an alien race.

—ALGERNON CECIL in his *Six Oxford Thinkers.*

THE philosopher statesman, the greatest man who has ever been Secretary of State for India, has resigned that important office. Lord Morley will no longer control the destinies of India. The five years during which this liberal statesman has been Secretary of State —the period synchronised with the eventful Viceroyalty of Lord Minto—has been one of unusual stress and activity. Both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy had succeeded to a heritage of trouble, the creation of which was not of their making—in fact in the making of which they had taken no part at all. Lord Minto came to India more or less as an untried man, one who had not taken any active part in British politics and whose tendencies and proclivities were yet unknown. The account that he has rendered of the high charge which he was called upon to assume, almost at a moment's notice, is so prominently before the public that much need not be said of it here. Educated India of to-day has formed its opinion and already given expression to its judgment, and it may confidently be asserted—and posterity will uphold this verdict —that Lord Minto's place has been secured among the greatest and most successful of India's Viceroys.

Unlike Lord Minto, Lord Morley (then plain John Morley) had already established a great reputation for himself before he assumed charge of the India Office in London. The philosopher statesman, the sturdy exponent of the best that is in English liberalism, the greatest lieutenant, admirer and biographer of William Ewart Gladstone had raised strong hopes in the hearts of educated India. The heritage to which he had succeeded was, no doubt, one of trouble, and the various measures of repression

and reform that were introduced in India during his time have caused sore disappointment and great satisfacation. It is true that the recent reforms which have been introduced in the working of the Legislative Councils in India, the precedents that have been created for the presence of Indian members in the executive councils, both Imperial and Provincial, and also in the India Council in England, and the impetus which has been given to self-government, have great potentialities in them. It is nevertheless also true that no other Secretary of State has sanctioned severer measures of repression than Lord Morley. But the times were peculiarly difficult, and we have no hesitation in saying that but for Lords Morley and Minto we do not know what would not have been done in this unfortunate land of ours in consequence of and as a rejoinder to the activities of the small number of our misguided youths—the followers of the cult of the revolver and the bomb. It is difficult to imagine what would have been—the mind shudders at the idea—but we may say without fear of contradiction that the presence of Lords Morley and Minto at the helm of our affairs at such a critical juncture is something to be grateful for. The five years of Lord Morley's administration will be remembered with gratitude, but the gratitude will often be mingled with feelings of keen disappointment and regret.

The Liberal Government had just come into power, and it was fully conscious of the amount of discontent that Lord Curzon's strong measures which had culminated in the Partition of Bengal, than which "nothing was ever worse done, so far as the disregard which was shown to the feeling and opinion of a people was concerned" had caused, and it was no doubt with a view to give rest and peace to the country and to soothe the pestering wounds that Lord Morley was appointed to be the head of the India Office. Judging from his antecedents and from what he had said of the Partition, strong hopes had been raised that Lord Morley would do something towards *at least* a modification of the Partition, but when he said from his place in the Commons that the Partition was a "settled fact," the keenest disappointment was caused, and a new lease of life was given to the agitation against the Partition. The future historian alone will be in a position to say how far this refusal to unsettle or modify the "settled fact," was responsible for the great and serious trouble that followed afterwards, but there can be no doubt that the disappointment was very keenly felt, the hopes that had been raised were shattered to pieces, as

if by a blow. The deportations from the Punjab followed soon after and this was yet another severe blow inflicted. The first of the bomb outrages in Bengal which took place in April, 1908, created an extraordinary sensation, and led to the discovery of a revolutionary conspiracy in the heart of the Imperial capital, and the exceptional measures of repression that were adopted and introduced with a view to cope with militant Nationalism were very severely criticised and denounced by the moderate section of the Indian people—which comprised the vast majority—as at once unnecessary and uncalled for, the arms of the existing law being long and strong enough to bring in its clutches all who offended against peace and order. The freedom of the press, freedom of speech, the right of public meeting, and the right of combination have, whatever may be said to the contrary, practically disappeared. The sword of Damocles is hanging on the heads of the Indian publicists and public men. The wisdom of introducing such repressive measures, the most far-reaching of those that have ever been introduced after the Mutiny, has been rightly questioned, and the disappointment and regret that has been felt has been all the keener because such measures were sanctioned by a Secretary of State of whom better things had been expected.

We are a grateful people, the Indians are by nature forgiving and forgetting, and the measure of the Reforms—for the introduction of which the fullest credit has been given to the two noble lords—has revived their confidence in the British sense of justice and fairplay. There are features of the scheme of which we do not quite approve, but we are among those who hold that preferential treatment to a class or minority ultimately necessarily means the enlargement of the privileges of those whose rights have now been curtailed. Injustice cannot long be perpetrated, and the large majority who have not, under the regulations at present in force, received equality of treatment with the favoured few are bound to have their rights recognised. It is a trite old saying that there are two sides to a picture—a bright side and a dark side; and there are two sides to Lord Morley's administration of India. The measures of repression represent the dark side of his administration, he reforms the bright one. With any other Secretary of State the feeling of disappointment would not have been so great or so keen.

In the issue of this *Review* for August 1906, in noticing the Budget speech with special reference to the remarks he had

made as regards the interpretation of the famous sentence in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 (with regard to the employment of Indians in the higher offices), we had said:—

We are all conscious of the qualifying words "so far as may be," and educated India is grateful to Mr. Morley for having laid down in unmistakable language what he considers to be the right interpretation to be placed on these qualifying words, and for the assurance that he has given us that he will see that a *definite* and *deliberate* move would be made with the view of giving competent and able natives "the same access to the higher posts in the administration that are given" to Englishmen. Let us hope that practical effect will be given to this pious intention, and that it will not remain only a happily expressed intention after all, that the government of this country will ultimately be carried on not only by the moral but by the active sympathy and co-operation of educted and cultivated men of India.

A statesman who can not only give expression to the noble sentiments to which reference has been made in the above extract, but can have the strength to translate them into action is one deserving of our gratitude. Lord Morley has indeed wielded a great personal influence in India, and we would have all wished that that influence should continue. But that was not to be. Infirmity due to age necessitated his transfer to the Upper House and we may attribute his resignation to that same cause. Lord Crewe had succeeded him, but who our new Secretary of State will be, the Fates alone can tell, but we hazard the opinion that the spirit introduced by John Morley will continue to rule our destinies, and that this spirit will be a beneficent one may be expected from the plea for sympathy put forward by our present sovereign and the growing interest he takes in our affairs as is evidenced by the fact of his proposal to come out to India next year, accompanied by his Queen, to be crowned among his loyal and loving people.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

N. B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Critici m of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer —Ed

Mr. George Harvey on Lord Curzon. By Mr. K. S Venkataramani.

IN lofty natures the sense of gratitude is an overmastering impulse which very often smothers even the promptings of truth justice. I am sure I am neither mistaken nor ironical if I attribute the qualities of loftiness and gratitude to Mr. George Harvey whose paneggric on Lord Curzon appeard in the September issue of the *Hindustan Review.* I can't conceive of a fine exhibition of this tender feeling than the one that is presented to us by the admirer of Lord Curzon. The editor's unstinted appreciation is, I fancy, the fitting payment for his lordship's careful and condescending contribution to the *North American Review.* Therefore it is not a matter for much surprise to me that Mr. Harvey commends his lordship's work with unreasoning fervour. There are obvious traces of indifference to arrive at impartial conclusions. Evidently the writer has taken his pen with no view to carefully shift the evidences that determine Lord Curzon's work in India. *Lues Boswellania* is a common complaint and Mr. Harvey is a victim to that.

The Editor bases his whole appreciation on the hypothesis that Lord Curzon is the greatest living authority on India. I am sure he is quoting nobody. Then, he is ungenerous to withhold from us, poor-witted mortals, the precious premisses that lead him to this. Perhaps we may infer that a gubernotorial sojourn for a few years constitutes the credentials of any 'great authority' besides the happy chance of living : Though the process of becoming a great authority on any intricate problem is alluring and seems to be charitably simplified by Mr. Harvey it does not inspire us with very much of confidence.

After Mr. Harvey has gulled his intellect into the belief that his lordship is a great authorit y and to boot, a living authority, it is no wonder to see him bend and bow to the pronouncements of his Delphic oracle. I am yet to know whether fascination for a country and limited familiarity with its people, *a familiarity without sympathy*, can qualify any one to the subtle task of ruling, can equip an occidental to the critical eminence of an oriental government. An alien, a carping critic, a contemptuous scion, a tactical politician, an unsympathetic man, gifted with all the intellectual endowments but without feeling can never hope to enter into the perplexing complexities of a nation's thoughts, can never grasp their mental and moral drift. The elementary qualification

to understand and interpret aright human nature is humanity, and humanity alone. The eagle can never appreciate the virtues of a crocodile or detect the defects of an alligator. Proclaiming yourself so much another's superior that you cannot even feel for him, cannot have a kind word for him you can't pretend great knowledge of him. The lecture of the Biologist on the anatomy of a frog which he never once condescended to touch, is either audacious vapouring or rhetorical raving. Magnanimity, breadth of view, sympathetic imagination, tender feeling, cosmopolitan kindness and humanity are the great virtues of a great statesman in the fullest and noblest sense of the term. Lord Curzon, as far as I know him, can boast of none of these qualities. The absence of these virtues is the cause of his fatal failure. The 'brave' man who laughs over or treats with contumely a certain psychological situation presented to him is hardly the master of the situation. This was precisely what Lord Curzon did when the intricate problem of Indian administration was given to him for solution at a time when "Asia was slowly being kicked to revolt."

"He showed too openly a contempt for his stupid fellow-mortals." Not because his lordship was a genius and so self-conscious. Moreover genius is always gentle, never insolent or aggressive. This trait of his lordship so fondly described by Mr. Harvey reveals the tremendous *tiny* ego. This flippant confidence in self is the keynote of his character. Everything should be sacrificed for the assertion of his personality. In his speeches the luminous 'I' far outshines his resplendant rhetoric. This annoying fact can never be traduced by any sophistical dialectician.

The 'efficient' Lord Curzon is a favourite epithet with all critics. I protest against this qualification. His indomitable probing of every branch is picking the mustard when pumpkins are rolling away. When he was confronted with grave issues of fundamental import his remodelling the departments is a sheer, sinful waste of energy and time. "His merciless insistence on efficiency" was from beginning to end grounded on mistaken notions and conceited ideas.

Mr. Harvey need not be in a hurry to commend Lord Curzon to us for the "trenchancy of his dialecties." There are many Anglo-Indians of lesser note who could be more trenchant and call the Indians as something worse than a race dreadfully given up to falsehood. For, precocity in this is a very easy acquisition.

"None ever rattled the bureaucratic bones as he did." His severe attitude sometimes towards Anglo-Indian officials and particularly his action against an Englishman in defence of a coolie requires an explanation. Truly it was to make all "feel that he was a Viceroy in fact as well as name." The egoist is once more manifest. All these actions against the Anglo-Indian and in respect to the coolie were simply to emphasise his

personality by advertising energy totally without the etherealising aim of benefiting humanity by the justice or kindness of his deed. Bereft of beneficent motive the deed is doubly damned.

When Mr. Harvey speaks of Chatham 'touch' and sundry other things we feel he is slowly slipping into raphsody. "The priceless gift of imagination." What in the world does Mr. Harvey mean by imputing to his Lordship the gift of imagination—a very ugly thing. Anyhow surely not the imagination of a wise statesman. Then what? I am afraid Mr. Harvey himself is making much use of that 'priceless' faculty.

His deductions from "unpopularity" reveal a curious system of logic. "The unpopularity that gathered round his lordship did him much honor." A scanty consolation indeed from a fanciful inversion of facts! It looks to me likely that Mr. Harvey feels for his losing hero and to save the situation tries to crown him hastily with martyrdom. But unfortunately this stratagem is bereft even of the merit of invention.

One word I am anxious to say about his lordship's ability. I concede that only very few could boast his equal "in force of mind, in remorseless, unsparing industry." A ruler of India, parallel to him in laborious sleepless toil, is to be found only in Aurangzeb as Mr. Gokhale rightly points out. His lordship no doubt enthralls the whole of mankind by the formidable energy and decision of his character. His unsurpassed ambition and activity is a stimulating ideal to me. But who can help regretting this waste of electricity in a splendid mental Niagra.

Certainly as Mr. Harvey says, "It is premature to pass judgment on it (his work.)" For we have as yet only partially felt the disasters of his administration, and the terrorist campaign is by no means the most serious of them. We know how rich a legacy his lordship handed to Lord Minto. We know not what richer legacy is in store for the coming noble Lord of Penhurst. Mr. Harvey finally, perhaps with triumph asks us to look at the mere record of activities. I confess I am dazed a good deal. But what I doubt is whether 'alterations', 'devisings', 'appointments' and 'effectings' guarantee the *benefit* or success of a scheme. Doubtless his activities were manifold but do they afford the ambrosia of papal infallibility. I know of many instances when the elegant ineptitudes of a prancing pro-consul are magnified into sublime virtues. Mr. Harvey's hero may be the flawless exception in Nature. Even this I can try to concede, but I can't suppress a smile—I hope his lordship will excuse this insolence in an insignificant writer—when Mr. Harvey attempts to play the role of prophetic historian and predicts with amusing frankness the place of his lordship in history.

In conclusion, I believe it will not be out of place to take an epigrammatic survey of Lord Curzon's Indian rule. A harsh, trampling, inhuman,

sucking, untenable imperialism is the Summum Bonnum of his lordship's viceregal aspirations. Whether the consummation of such an ardent wish does not militate against the inherent impulses of the Indian race in whom the pastoral blood of the Aryans still runs, lies deep in the womb offuturity and I dare not predict taking my hint from my learned Editor, Mr. George Harvey.

Some Historical Myths. By Mr. Wilmot Corfield.

An article by Mr. H. C. Biswas in the *Hindustan Review* for September last again gives currency to slanders on the memory of a man which should be dear to every succeeding generation of Calcutta citizens. The tittle-tattle (sometimes referred to as "tradition") revived by the author of the article is entirely lacking in confirmati on, and of a kind that would only be too likely to arise in the communities in the midst of which Charnock dwelt, and where he must of necessity have made many enemies owing to his habits of honesty and the British standard of conduct he held as right. Hamilton, who never said a good word for anyone if he could help it and had a most powerful treasury of scandal at his command (I quote Mr Firminger at the "Charnock" dinner of 24th August, 1908), tells the "sati" story. Hodges tells the story quite a different way. Against the "cock killing" myth too, carrying with it the implication of Job's formal lapse into heathendom may be set the fact that his own children placed on his grave a memorial slab in a Christian burial ground words that testify to his adhesion at the end to the faith of his own people. Bearing in mind the social conventions of that day the romantic tale of how Charnock won his wife is one which many would like to accept as true. It should never however be stated as being actually a fact, and Mr. Biswas has so stated it.

The article also mis-quotes from an epitaph on the tomb of "Pilot Townsend," in St. John's Church, Calcutta, the verses containing the lines:

" Shoulder to shoulder, Joe my boy—into the crowd like a wedge "

and

The tall pale widow is mine, Joe—the little brown girl's for you."

but in each case "Job" has been substituted for "Joe," a change materially altering the general idea it was the object of the poet to convey.

The verses are said to be found on the tomb in the course of the epitaph. They are not so to be found, and they never were on the tombstone, nor yet is the stone to be found on the tomb of "Joe" the pilot, and the pilot's name was Townshend, not Townsend. Thus it is that history goes wrong. The stone with a verseless inscription is now embedded with many others in the pavement surrounding Charnock's mausoleum in St. John's Churchyard. The spot where rest the remains of the pilot has been lost sight of since the devastating "improvements" in the churchyard made many years ago.

The verses were written by Dr. Norman Chevers of the Medical Establishment. and appeared in the *Englishman* in (or about) July 1869. They are subsequently mauled by Mr. Rudyard Kipling and introduced into his "The Light that failed." It would be a pleasing and a beautiful thing were the *Englishman* to reproduce the original version giving the exact date of their first appearance in its pages.

Of "honest Mr. Charnock," the clear sighted pioneer Englishman who passed an unprecedented length of years of Indian service "no prowler for himself beyond what was just and modest" "a man" (again to quote Mr. Firminger) "with a mighty firmness of purpose, sorrowed but never disheartened by being either misunderstood or treated with injustice and always anxious to be on the side of right," Sir William Hunter has written "Charnock now stands forth in the manuscript records as a block of rough British manhood." Let us leave our civic founder at that.

Mr. Biswas' closing remark that "Indians have saved Charnock's memory from passing into oblivion" may be passed over for what it is worth. The "small bazar" at Barrackpore called "Charnock or Achanak" if it exists or ever existed need not necessarily have derived its name from "Charnock" that of the British trader. Other derivations are easy to suggest. The stretch of thoroughfare from Koila Ghat Street to Fairlie Place is now known as "Charnock Place," though neither the naming of an obscure little market, or of a strip of pavement in a big town after the greatest of great English pioneers was necessary to keep his memory green.

None the less the question arises why not a worthy Calcutta memorial to Job Charnock? No portrait of him exists. To suggest a statue to him on the Maidan would evoke the twaddling cackle of local fooldom in full flood ever alert to prevent the carrying out of any proposal making for the extension of the usefulness or the further beautifying of that huge stretch of gracious greenery. Between Eden Gardens and the River are hideous structural excrescences which, occupying the commanding position they do any other capital city in the Empire but Calcutta would sweep away in a night in just though wrathful indignation. I should like to see there, on the ridge of the river bank, silhouetted against the sky and stream a huge block of rough hewn granite bearing a statue symbolical of "Courage" or some other manly virtue characteristic of a strong and good man. The statue should be looking along the mighty waterway Charnock won for the England of his day, and for us in ours, to the lasting gain of India and the world, and (to adapt).

Underneath well written
In letters all of gold
How gallantly he held the ridge
In the brave days of old.

This artistic memorial to a colossal personality would become one of the outstanding attractions of the Queen City of India. It would command the respect of British and of Indian alike and its cost need not be that which many a monument to a man of but micorscopical moment has hitherto reached.

There is another, too, whose memory Calcutta should cherish, which is, however, likely to really pass into oblivion. Of all it has accomplished the *Englishman* should be more than proud of having afforded an opportunity for first giving to the world the one poem of all others inspired and written in Calcutta which has passed into English literature. Full of the true poetic ring it is of the stuff that lives. But I have yet to learn that even a memorial portrait of Dr. Norman Chevers has been placed in the Victoria Memorial Half Gallery.

Tulsi Dass and Shaikh Sadi. By Mr. Sibeshwar Dayal, M. A.

We confess Mr. Muhabbat Singh's article on the above subject in the September number of the *Hindustan Review* has given us a shock of painful surprise. The catch-heading of the article arrested our attention, and we at once began to devour its contents ; but the note struck at the end of the very first paragraph, wherein 'the writer ventures' among other creditable and useful objects in view "to show how far the later author has borrowed from his predecessor" jarred upon our ears.

We quite naturally enough expected to know on what authority Mr. Singh was going to base his conclusion ; and we are not a little disappointed to find that the bare chronological fact of Goswami Tulsi Das 'being behind Shaikh Sadi by two centuries,' seems to be the only premiss for Mr. Singh's drawing the most astounding and epoch-making inference—"Evidently, then Tulsi Das must have borrowed thoughts from his predecessor Shaikh Sadi." *Must have borrowed*, forsooth ! ? Why Mr. Singh will convince us by hunting up parallel passages which are to be found in the works of these two authors—Tulsi Das has 'completely translated' some verses, the 'original' of which 'were said long before,' occurring in Shaikh Sadi's works !

We are thus led to think that Priority in time seems to be obviously the only slippery ground upon which the writer has built up the interest ing edifice of his literary research and workmanship. Even holding that Tulsi Das was much conversant with the Persian authors, we cannot rush to the hasty and bold conclusion that it was the latter's sayings and apophthegms which the Poet had before his mind's eye in as much as he chanced to make similar observations or pronounce kindred reflection on man, on nature, and on human life.' A careful study of comparative and historical Psychology and Sociology will show that similar and parallel ideas, thoughts and sentiments crop up and urge in our minds at distinct and particular stages of human and individual evolution and development.

The question of 'Plagiarism' by poets has been very well discussed by Lord Tennyson in his interesting letter to Mr. Dawson. The poet points out that 'coincidences of thought, impressions and expressions' must occur, for 'are not human eyes all over the world looking at the same objects?' And the poet adds: "But, there is, I fear, a prosaic set growing up among us, editors of booklets, book-worms, index-hunters, or men of great memories and no imagination, who *impute themselves* to the poet, and so believe, that he, too, has no imagination, but is for ever poking his nose between the pages of same old volume in order to see what he can appropriate." It is thus, we think, often a mistake to say that a poet's lines have been *suggested* by or '*borrowed*' from those of a former poet; oftener than not they are original, suggested by personal observation and reflection.

Again, we may note that the thoughts and sentiments occurring in the *Ramayana* may be said to have their 'original' in old and earlier Sanskrit authors, who flourished even before Shaikh Sadi, and with whom Tulsi Das may be supposed to be more familiar and conversant; why then should Mr. Singh jump at the inference that we should stop at the fifteenth century and consider Shaikh Sadi (of whom we, for our part, join hands with Mr. Singh in reckoning ourselves as 'second to none as an admirer') to be the fountain-head from which issued forth or were 'borrowed' the exquisite lines and aphorisms of the Indian Sage-Poet? We may refer, in conclusion, to Dr. Grierson's appreciation of Tulsi Das, where, after counting our Poet as yielding influence over 'fully ninety millions of people' and considering him as being 'one of the three or four great writers of Asia,' 'his *Ramayana* being better known than the Bible in England,' the learned Doctor characterises his sayings and similes as 'drawn not from the tradition of the schools (much less from Shaikh Sadi, as Mr. Singh would like to think,) but from Nature herself.'

The *Hindustan Review* on the Partition.

In the current number of the *Hindustan Review*, edited by the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, one of the representatives of the Lower Provinces in the Imperial Council, there occur some forcible observations on the partition of Bengal. We may not and perhaps we do not agree with every word of what is said, but these observations from the pen of the editor himself, appearing under the heading of "The Topic of the Day," may be said to represent educated Behar opinion on the great grievance which has moved the heart of the Bengalee-speaking population. Says the *Hindustan Review*:—

"But Indians, at any rate, cannot rid themselves of the feeling that the results of His Excellency's reforms would have been even greater but for the unaccountable position of the Government of India and the Secretary

of State in regard to the Partition of Bengal. Whatever might have been the case in other parts of the country, there was no "revolutionary sedition" in Bengal previous to the partition of that province on an arbitrary plan. It was the Partition that drove several loyal and moderate men in Bengal into the ranks of political agitation of an unprecedented vehement type, that led to the inauguration of the unfortunate "boycott" movement and, as a result, to the deportation without trial of men like Mr. Krishna Kunmar Mitter. Our own view of the matter is that there would have been no "revolutionary sedition" at all, at any rate, none worth mentioning, if Government had adopted a reasonably conciliatory attitude in regard to the Partition. The Secretary of State has repeatedly spoken disparagingly of the way in which the measure was carried out. In the House of Lords he declared on one occasion that he did not know why it should be regarded as sacrosanct. A veteran like Lord MacDonnell denounced it as the greatest blunder committed since the Battle of Plassey. The people of Bengal have never ceased to cry out against it Yet, it has been maintained as "a settled fact." It was a profound observation that Lord Minto made in his recent speech that the strongest man is he who is not afraid of being called weak. It is the weak men, the man who is painfully conscious of his incapacity and his indecision of character, that is constantly in dread of discovering himself in his native weakness by an act of concession. A strong man has no such fear. Judged by this standard, how weak has been the Government's show of strength on the subject of the Partition of Bengal! No reasonable person expected that the Partition would be altogether undone and that Bengal would be once more restored to her old unwieldy dimensions. But there was more than one way in which it could have been modified so as to retain all the advantages of the present measure without splitting up the Bengali-speaking districts. We do not know who is responsible for the failure of Government to show some deference to public sentiment on this subject, but we are sure that a less unbending attitude on their part would have deprived the present situation of the one surviving cause of disappointment. We ought to say at the same time that the Bengali leaders did not go about their work of persuading Government to modify the Partition in the wisest manner possible. But for the unsavoury idea of, "boycott," Government might have felt less constrained to stand upon "the settled fact. Who can tell?"

Our contemporary is quite right when it says that the position of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India is "unaccountable" in regard to the Partition of Bengal. Lord Morley himself said in the House of Lords that it was a mere question of boundaries, and that it was not sacrosanct—that it was not the wisest scheme of Partition that could have been conceived and that it went wholly and decisively against the

wishes of the majority of the people concerned. After saying all this—stating these facts as his promises—he comes to the conclusion that Partition is a settled fact. What are the educated community to think of a settled fact, so violently in opposition to the plainest canons of reasoning? Here is a measure, forced upon them against their convictions and their deepest sentiments. Here we have government by compulsion instead of government by persuasion. The doctrine of the settled fact, as applied to the partition, goes violently against the tenour and spirit of the Reform Scheme which substitutes government by persuasion in place of government by compulsion. And as a part of the Reform Scheme, the partition should have been modified. We have held that in Bengal the boon of the Reform Scheme has been partly neutralized by keeping up the partition without modification. Our contemporary says the same thing in a somewhat milder form. "Indians cannot rid themselves of the feeling," says the *Hindustan Review*, "that the result of the reforms would have been much greater but for the unaccountable position of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in regard to the partition of Bengal." In the above passage our contemporary voices the sentiment of all India; for the partition is not a provincial but a pan-Indian consideration. The *Hindustan Review* regards the partition as the parent and the root-cause of the present unrest. We fear it is considerations of prestige that stand in the way of the modification of the partition. But as our contemporary puts it, it is the weak man who "is constantly in dread of discovering himself in his native weakness by an act of concession." The strong man has no such fears. We hope that the Government of India will yet vindicate its strength and its justice by reconsidering the great national grievance of Bengal. We need not enter here into the vexed question of the *Swadeshi*-boycott movement in relation to the Partition of Bengal. The Resolution on the subject was adopted at the Benares session of the Indian National Congress with the assent of all India and with Mr. Gokhale as President of the Congress. It did not in any sense represent a trial of strength between the Government and the people. It aimed to call the attention of the British public to the great grievances of the partition, and it had the effect of stimulating our decaying indigenous industries and imparting a strong impetus to the industrial movement.—The *Bengalee*.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*"—(William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*).

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*

The Bengali and Hindustani Kayasthas,

MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN has sent us the following communication :—

Many friends, Bengali as well as Hindustani, have made anxious inquiries as to when and where the next sitting of the Kayastha Conference will be held. The inquiry is quite natural, specially in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress and many other Conferences will be held at Allahabad in or about the Christmas week. I regret I am myself quite in the dark about the matter.

It is to be deeply regretted that no session of the Kayastha Conference is going to be held at Allahabad about the Christmas week. The most pressing problem which the Kayastha Community has to solve is the question of the amalgamation of the two branches, Bengali and Hindustani, of the Kayastha community. The National Congress and the numerous other engagements and attractions of Allahabad will bring together a large number of Kayasthas of both the sections. This would have been an excellent opportunity to convene a joint meeting in order to grapple with this problem. But perhaps the "sober and thoughtful" members of our community consider this proposal outrageous and are consequently confirmed in their pious determination of converting the Conference into an educational Conference and of having nothing to do with questions of social reform. I know as a fact that some of our local "leaders" are so disgusted with the advanced and advancing views of social reforms that they would have nothing to do with a social reform movement. May I tell them and others of the same class in all humility that wealth or position, sophistry or special pleading, frowns or smiles, will not be able to stem the tide of social reform. As one year suceeds another, it will gain in volume and intensity and sweep away all opposition.

In this connection I cannot omit to mention the splendid work that Babu Sarda Charan Mitter, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, is doing to bring about an amalgamation of the two sections of the Kayastha community. To me the solution of this problem appears to be only a question of time. It is bound to come and let those who have vi ion and courage, co-operate with Babu Sarda Charan Mitter in the patriotic work that he has taken in hand.

We share the regret of Mr. Iswar Saran that it has not been found possible to arrange for a sitting of the Kayastha Conference in the coming Christmas week. Not only the Indian National Congress is going to be held but many communal and caste Conferences will also hold their

sessions. It is a pity that the oldest caste Conference will be conspicuous by its absence, and we are sure there will be many who will deplore it. We mean no disparagement, but we are bound to say that the local Kayastha community must bear the blame of not having made the necessary arrangements for the holding of a session of the Kayastha Conference.

As regards the question of amalgamating the Bengali and the Hindustani sections of the Kayastha community, it is pleasing to notice that there is an ever-growing body of intellegent and well-informed public opinion in its favour. There is nothing to prevent the fusion of these two sub-sections. We do not lose of the fact that at the outset there will be the usual opposition and cry of 'Religion in danger' but every one has by now got quite used to them. If our friends interested in the right solution of this problem will display tact and courage, the day is not distant when the great Kayastha community will stand united as a whole. Signs are not wanting which go unmistakably to show that the process of nationalisation has begun, and the fusion of these two sections will be a distinct step gained. We wish Babu Sarda Charan Mitter, whose views on this question were embodied in an article which he wrote in this Review some time ago. and his co-workers every success in the work they have undertaken.

A Kayastha Inventor

We have learnt with much pleasure that Lala Raja Babu, Superintendent, Games Department, and A. D. C. to H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, has devised a very ingenious invention, the "Automatic Collision Preventer," to safeguard the life and property of the travelling public. Before giving further details regarding the successful working of the device, we quote the following from the *British Chess Magazine*, London, of July, 1904, to introduce the inventor more closely to our readers :—

Lala Raja Babu, the author of the exhaustive Hindustani Manual on Chess, which is reviewed in the present issue, undoubtedly takes a very high rank among the followers of the Royal Game in India. We have the pleasure accordingly in adding his portrait to our gallery of Chess players, and in giving the following particulars of his career :—

Lala Raja Babu is a citizen of the most important Sikh State, Patiala. His father, Lala Chhutti Lal, was Director of Public Instruction (and in charge of the late Maharaja's education) and served the State for 35 years... In 1890 he was appointed Aide-de-camp to the Maharaja and at a later date became Superintendent of the Palace Games. His skill is not confined to Chess, for we are informed that he is also noted for his prowess on the cricket field. The Maharajas of Patiala have, as is well known, been pioneers in the introduction of cricket in India.

In Chess, Lala Raja Babu has gained his chief laurel in the annual tournaments of the Simla Club. In 1899 he carried off the championship Cup with a score of 27 wins out of 28 games played...In 1900, Raja Babu repeated his success, winning 19 games out of 20, and he again carried off the championship in 1901.

Beside the Chess work...Raja Babu has lately perfected and Patented an "Automatic Chess Recorder.".. It is undoubtedly a very ingenious contrivance.

On the evening of the 4th November at the Garden Party at Patiala, held in honour of the investiture with full powers of the State of H. H. the Maharaja, by the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, the inventor has had the honour of exhibiting the model of his device in full working order, before the distinguished gathering, consisting of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, his host the Maharaja, and hundreds of distinguished European and Indian guests. It was particularly appreciated and admired very much by His Honour who evinced a good deal of interest in the invention. The Engines of both the trains, on the same line, proceeding from opposite directions, were suddenly stopped at certain given points, by an automatic arrangement, demonstrating thereby the utter impossibility of railway collisions and accidents. Before proceeding to give a practical demonstration, the inventor briefly explained the mechanism and the aims and objects of the device, and then after thanking His Honour for the privilege granted to him by an inspection of the model, he conveyed also his thanks to his Master, the Maharaja, without whose patronage and generosity it would not have seen the light of day.

The inventor has had also the honour of working the model, before the Railway Conference, Simla, lately with great success.

Since the device has given so much satisfaction, and aims at the safety of public life and property, we venture to hope that the Railway Board and the different Railway administrations in India who are so anxious about the safety of trains, will see their way to take it up in right earnest, and earn the gratitude of the suffering humanity. We at the same time congratulate Lala Raja Babu for the great service done by him to the country.

The Kayastha Pathshala.

The Old Boys' Day of the Kayastha Patshala, was held on the evening of the 2nd instant in the Patshala premises, the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha presiding. The proceedings began with prayer in Hindi recited by a student of the Pathshala, and an address of welcome to the boys who came from the various parts of the province. After the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Janki Prasada Prosotamji, had read the annual report, in which he dwelt on the aims and objects of the Association, the following resolutions were passed:—'(1) This meeting calls upon the old and new Patshala

students to form sub-committees in their own districts, with a view to invite the co-operation of the Hindi community in general and Kayasthas in particular, to improve the educational and financial status of that community. (2) That the President of the Kayastha Patshala be requested to recognize this Association and to empower the Association and the sub-committee to raise subscriptions on behalf of the Patshala. (3) That this Association prays the President of the Kayastha Patshala to make a yearly allowance to enable the members of the institution to realize their object. (4) That this Association keenly feels the want of an organ to give expression to views and opinions on questions affecting themselves and their *alma mater*, and proposes that as soon as the funds allow a magazine be started.'

Babu Iswar Saran, Mr. Sheo Prasad Sinha and Rai Gokul Prasad Bahadur, President of the Pathshala, then addressed the meeting.

The gathering separated after partaking of light refreshments.

Kayastha Parthshala, Allahabad—Founder's Memorial Meeting.

The memorial meeting of the founder of the Kayastha Pathshala was held on the evening of the 3rd instant at 6 P. M. in the premises of the Pathshala with Mr. Govird Prasad, the former President of the School, in the chair. There was a fair gathering of students, past and present, and also of some gentlemen including the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Munshi Gokul Prashad, President of the Pathshala, Munshi Iswar Saran, Mr. Gulzari Lal, Dr. Ranjit Singh, and others. Just a little to the back of the President the photo of the founder, Munshi Kali Prasad Kulabhasker, was placed and tastefully decorated. The proceedings began with a prayer by Pandit Sita Ram. Then Gajadhar Prasad read verses in Urdu in praise of the founder composed for the occasion.

Next Babu Munshilal spoke in complimentary terms of the late Munshi Kali Prasad and said that in spite of various impediments which were thrown in his way in accomplishing the object in view he succeeded at last in giving a concrete shape to the abstract thought only by dint of patience, and asked his friends to work for promoting the progress of the institution. Some students followed him.

Next Munshi Iswar Saran, Vakil, High Court, said that he was very glad to say the founder's day was celebrated last year in England by those Kayasthas who were present at the time there. It was their duty to bring to memory once in a year the good man who tried to uplift not only his community of Kayasthas but the entire Hindu community. The very fact that the Pathshala is open to all Hindus would show the feeling of the late Munshi Kali Prasad. He instanced the son of the late Mr.

Justice Telang, who had given up his practice as advocate of the Bombay High Court and was serving in the Central Hindu College. In conclusion he said to his hearers that they would be showing their gratitude to the founder of the institution if they tried to follow his ideals by translating them into actions.

Then the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in an eloquent speech in Hindu dwelt at length on the good work done by the late Munshi Kali Prasad and highly eulogised the work the former president had done, and the work the present president had been doing, and appreciated the labours of the students towards the progress of the institution, said the learned Pandit, was the first of its kind in India He asked the trustees to do as lay in their power as early as possible.

Mr. Janki Prasad Prosotamji then announced the various prizes awarded to students in the sports and drama that were played in connection with the founder's day celebration.

The following telegram received from the Superintendent, Central Hindu College, Benares, was read, "Kindly accept hearty congratulations from the Hindu College Boarders. Kayasthas and non Kayasthas, celebrated the birthday and resolved on awarding a silver medal for the best essay on the founder's life." Mr Prosotomji also announced the prize of some books by an anonymous gentleman for the best essay on 'Seeta Maharani'

With a vote of thanks proposed by Mr Gokul Prasad the meeting terminated

The Pathsala was illuminated throughout

Acknowledgment.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following British, American, Anglo-Indian, and Indian publications in exchange for the *Hindustan Review* :—

Quarterlies (Foreign) :—[1] The *Quarterly Review*, [2] The *Edinburgh Review*, [3] The *Hibbert Journal*, [4] The *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, [5] The *East and the West*, [6] The *Buddhist Review*, [7] The *Monist*; **(Indian)** : [8] The *Calcutta Review*, [9] The *Malabar Quarterly Review*, [10] The *Indian Interpreter*, [11] The *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, [12] The *Agricultural Journal of India*, [13] The *Ceylon National Review*, [14] *Journal of S. I. Institute*, [15] The *American Review of Reviews*, and [16] The *London Review*.

Monthlies (Foreign) :—[17] The *Contemporary Review*, [18] The *National Review*, [19] The *English Review*, [20] The *Review of Reviews*, [21] The *North American Review*, [22] The *Literary Guide*, [23] The *Indian Magazine*, [24] The *Positivist Review*, [25] The *Socialist Review*, [26] The *Twentieth Century Magazine*; [27] The *Open Court*, [28] The *British Empire Review*, [29] *United Empire*, [30] *Travel and Exploration*; **(Indian)** : [31] The *Modern Review*, [32] The *Indian World*, [33] *East and West*, [34] The *Indian Review*, [35] The *Indian Ladies' Magazine*, [36] The *Dawn*, [37] The *International Police Service Magazine*, [38] The *Vedic Magazine*, [39] The *Muslim Review*, [40] The *Criminal Law Journal of India*, [41] The *Epicure*, and [42] The *Current Literature*.

Fortnightlies (Foreign): [43] The *Dial*; **(Indian)**: [44] The *Calcutta Law Journal*, [45] The *Bombay Law Reporter*, [46] The *Madras Law Journal*, and [47] The *Empress*.

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